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Dressing the Dead: Social Practices of Clothing and Adornment at the Historic Head and Adams Cemeteries in Central East Texas, 1850 to 1900

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Dressing the Dead: Social Practices of Clothing and Adornment at the Historic Head and Adams Cemeteries in Central East Texas, 1850 to 1900

by

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Dedication

"The whole Head's Prairie would mean little now if I didn't remember it as it was then."

-Ethel Wilson Sparks

To the community of Headsville, past and present.

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Dressing the Dead: Social Practices of Clothing and Adornment at the Historic Head and Adams Cemeteries in Central East Texas, 1850 to 1900

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I explore social identity as mortuary displays of age and gender during the period of 1850 to 1900 in the historic, rural community of Headsville, Texas. I contend that material remains of clothing and adornment aid in the interpretation of social expectations of dress and presentation according to prevalent nineteenth-century ideologies of maturity and gender. Building on multiple lines of evidence, including artifacts recovered from the relocation of the Head and Adams Cemeteries, I outline clothing artifact assemblages related to gender during the life course informed by nineteenth-century dress history and socio-political movements within the context of an emerging, rural European American frontier community.

I examine dress artifact types, materials, frequencies, sizes, and proveniences to systematically compare inferences of clothing from similar groupings of artifacts within known burials to unknown burials. I identified a male artifact assemblage and a female and gender-neutral non-adult artifact assemblage. Diagnostic artifacts within the male assemblage suggested burial in pants, shirts, jackets, and waistcoats and, within the

female and gender-neutral assemblage, one- to two-piece dresses in adult burials and children's gowns and diapers in juvenile and infant burials.

I conclude that individuals were buried in their daily dress, work clothing, and Sunday's best attire. Pants were the most archaeologically accessible trait of male clothing, which served to reaffirm masculine ideals in boys as young as the age of three years. More elaborate male ensembles, specifically cuff and collar closures, were reserved for older men indicating a status linked to the longevity of manhood. Adult female and children's clothing were much more nuanced, and I assert that commonalities in closure means might have represented a subtle link between femininity and childhood; however, landmarks in the maturation of female dress through childhood were inaccessible without the presence of textiles. Additionally, adult female clothing lacked many of the extravagant constrictions of women's clothing such as corsets, which I assert speaks to the limitations of burial and the pragmatism of women living in a rural, farming community. My categorization and exploration of dress provides a foundation for analyzing dress remains not only from other cemeteries but also other archaeological contexts.

Table of Contents

List of Tables

List of Figures

Chapter 1: Introduction to Dress and Historic Cemeteries

Dress is at once appearance, ornament, apparel, costume, and fashion, but also broader and more encompassing of the diverse assemblage of modifications and enhancements to the body any individual may befit, inscribe, or don (Roach-Higgins and Eicher 1992: 1). Coiffing the hair, scenting the skin, piercing the ear, dressing the body, shaving a beard, all convey this very personal sense of dress.

Within archaeology we are uniquely posed to delve into dress as practiced by peoples of varying social, economic, ethnic, and geographic backgrounds across time. In widespread contexts, multitudes of buttons, beads, and buckles are recovered. It is my goal to expand the interpretations of this group of artifacts to the practices and manifestations of historic dress in the nineteenth-century, and how these additions interface with social conventions of gender and age.

Remains of historic dress are recovered in wide variety of archaeological contexts. Artifacts, such as buttons, are abundant, yet analysis of historic dress artifacts has been treated with little research toward clothing styles and types in part due to lack of context (Franklin in press, White 2002). Nevertheless, mortuary remains provide singular opportunities to examine clothing and adornment within specific clothing suites and provide a foundation from which to analyze dress artifacts from other historic contexts. Utilizing the European American Head and Adams Cemeteries in central east Texas as a case study, my research determined several clothing assemblages related to gender during the life course of individuals in nineteenth-century Texas (Figure 1.1). Particular displays of dress artifact materials and types were identified as specific categories of men's, women's, and children's clothing. Linking clothing artifacts and artifact assemblages to particular garments provides a stepping stone to archaeologists to further research identity and can be employed to gain a sense of how people incorporated notions of age and gender into the act of dress. This relational understanding provides a foundation to

comparatively analyze dress remains not only from other cemeteries but also from other archaeological contexts.

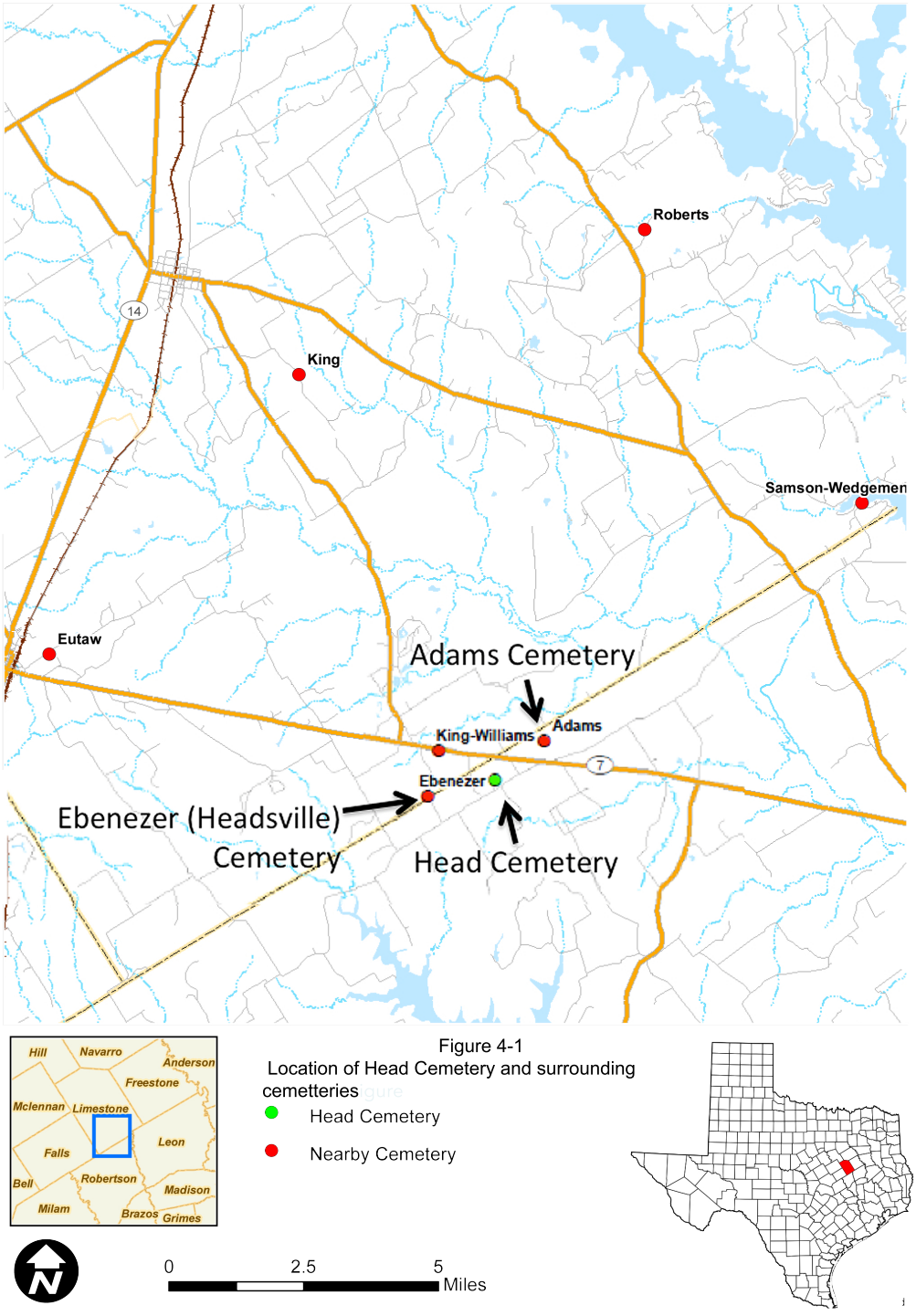


Figure 1.1 Head and Adams Cemetery locations.

The Head and Adams Cemeteries were once located in the small farming community of Headsville, also known as Head's Prairie, straddling the counties of Limestone and Robertson. Focusing on these two cemeteries allows for a collectively-based social examination of how aged and gendered categories progressed as individuals matured within a single community. Like many Americans at the time, Headsville residents lived in a rural, sparsely settled town, which was occupied mostly by families, extended families, and acquaintances as yeoman farmers moved west from other southern states beginning in the late 1840s and early 1850s. As the community grew, it contained several business enterprises, as well as a post office and a school. Continuing the pattern of many other country settlements, Headsville dwindled over the years, and all but disappeared following the migration of many of the last residents after World War II. However, Headsville was not forgotten as this investigation stems from my own experiences as an archaeologist working in and around the area since 2005. Nearly ten years of field work in the area allowed me the opportunity to participate as an excavator and artifact analyst for the relocation of the Head and Adams Cemeteries in the late 2000s and early 2010s. I personally inventoried and catalogued the artifacts presented within this dissertation as part of cultural resource mitigation projects. Therefore, the particular importance of producing a body of work from those labors grows out of a fondness I developed for the past community of Headsville. It is my aim within this dissertation to explore their mortuary displays of age and gender in a community much like others across America, but dearer to my heart.

This led me to a series of questions, such as how can clothing and adornment be identified within mortuary contexts? How did individuals as part of their community articulate gender through the life course and enact them in death in rural Texas? How important would it have been to materially establish boundaries of age and gender at the time of death? Is this a mere reflection of ideologies of the living? Or does the materiality of death differ in some way? How does this reflect gender ideologies from 1850 to 1900

in rural Texas? These questions necessitated a large component of my research to provide a comprehensive guide to identifying, dating, and interpreting the use and the social significance of clothing and adornment during the second half of the nineteenth-century. These issues shaped the research presented here as they addressed issues of individual and group identity and identification, as children matured into adults, and how social roles and status life cycle changes were articulated in culturally meaningful ways at different biological, linear, and social phases through the life cycle. These considerations at once complicate and compliment the broader understanding of late-nineteenth century American gender ideologies.

DRESS IN ARCHAEOLOGY

I draw upon two main bodies of work approaching the study of historic dress: costume and fashion histories and anthropological and archaeological investigations. Costume histories primarily focus on clothing construction, garment details, and fashionable trends (Brandt 1989; Baumgarten 1992; Foote 1980; Johnson 2004; Kidwell 1978, 1987; Kuchta 1990; Lopez 1991; Mills 1985; Rabun and Drake 1983; Schorman 1997; Setnik 2012; Severa 1995; Shine 1988; Tortora and Eubank 2010, 2011; Wass and Fandrich 2010). In many cases, interest in costume history overlaps with the social significance of historic dress, as clothing experts delve into the interwoven nuances of fashion, convention, and social meaning (Aldridge 2008; Bates 1997; Brubacher 2002; Clayton-Guthro 1996; Davis 2010; Helvenston 1980, 1981, 1990; Johnson 2004; Knowles 2012; Murphy 2005; Paoletti 1979, 1983, 2012; Severa and Horswill 1989; Wehrle and Paoletti 1990). Dress and fashion histories of this sort provide incomparable resources for the identification of historic dress from the archaeological record. Anthropologists and archaeologists have borrowed from this fashion literature in order to establish terminologies, identifications, and chronologies as they both classify and interpret archaeological remains of past clothing and adornment. Anthropologically and

archaeologically aligned investigations often approach the symbolism of dress (Crane and Bovine 2006; Davidson 2014; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005; Durham 1999; Eicher 2000; Fischer 2001; Gilchrist 2004; Hansen 2004; Roach-Higgins et al. 1992, 1995; Sørensen 2000; Thomas and Thomas 2004; White and Beaudry 2009). Other studies detail the representation of dress and identity for specific regions and time periods (De Lucia 2010; Flewellen 2018; Hendrickson 1995; Joyce 2000; Lindbergh 1999; Loren 2010; Loren and Beaudry 2010; Lynch 1999; McCafferty and McCafferty 2006; Ulrich 1991; Van Buren and Gensmer 2017; White 2002, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2009).

Archaeological investigations of cemeteries are growing more numerous, as urban and suburban expansion, infrastructure renewal, and natural resource development projects, in some cases, require unavoidable and unfortunate relocation of historic cemeteries. There is a growing body of work as archaeologists attempt to address clothing within the burial context (Brantley 1998, Heath 1999, Hintlian 2001, Little et al. 1992, Manhein et al. 2006, Owsley et al. 2006, Perry et al. 2006, Welker 1999, Wilson and Cabak 2004). In Texas, this type of archaeological investigation has led to limited identification and cursory inferences of clothing and analyses of the social meaning of dress mostly within the sphere of cultural resource management mitigation reports (Crow 2004). Notable exceptions do exist in which historic cemeteries received careful attention to the inventory of artifacts, inferred clothing, and the broader implications of dress. Pivotal to the identification of dress in historic, mortuary contexts is the work conducted by Victoria Owens and Melissa Green (2000) on the Freedman's Cemetery in Dallas, Texas. Also arising from research conducted for the archaeological recovery of the Freedman's Cemetery is the work of James Davidson and Robert Mainfort (2006) on two burial grounds in Arkansas, the Becky Wright and Eddy Cemeteries. Most recently, Maria Franklin has revisited the dress assemblage recovered from the Third New City Cemetery in Houston, Texas (in press). I not only build on these previous investigations, but my work strongly places a foothold in the realm of cultural resource management

(CRM), owing to the seminal work put forth by the above archaeologists, and the fact that the relocation of both the Head and Adams Cemeteries stems from CRM.

SIGNIFICANCE AND METHODS

Studying how historic gender ideologies are enacted and prescribed through the life course can be implemented through many avenues of historical research (De Lucia 2010, Johnson 2007, Lynch 1999, Rotman 2005). However, a holistic archaeological study of dress, gender, and age within the grave emphasizes what can be in many cases lost: the individual. Subjects develop through the span of human life according to the meaning and experience of multiple and often competing discourses (Joyce 2000). My project frames this development through an interpretative process that allowed for the identification of historic dress from burial remains and the potential social meanings for the deceased and bereaved. To date, there has been no comprehensive study of the daily and/or burial dress for historic Texas, and my research compliments broader historical studies of dress and furthers our understanding of the practice of identity in the nineteenth century (Kidwell and Steele 1989, Marks 1996, Mills 1985, Prellwitz and Metcalf 1980, Rowold and Schlick 1983, Severa 1995, Severa and Horswill 1989).

Dress has strong implications for gender interpretations, and clothing is one of the primary ways by which material culture is deployed in the construction of identity (Joyce 2000, 2001, 2005; Loren 2001; Smith 2009; Voss 2008; White and Beaudry 2009; White 2002, 2005, 2008, 2009). The way in which the dead and their bereaved fashioned corpses helps elucidate the ways in which gender and age were negotiated in the context of a rural Texas community. I approach this issue by analyzing clothing-related artifacts from two cemeteries located within the community of Headsville in terms of how the artifacts were employed in the practice of dress. The bulk of this research pertains to inferring dress from often fragmentary remains of clothing and adornment. After identifying clothing types according to provenience, frequency, size, type, and material of

dress artifacts within individual graves, I then compared the results of known sexed, gendered, and aged individuals to unknown and indeterminate individuals. An examination of this data allowed me to classify particular clothing and adornment assemblages as related to gender and age. I then frame my interpretations according to how personal items associated with the dead can be examined as indices of gender or age statuses and as elements deployed in the creation of idealized identities within the community.

From these results, I provide a more standardized process for the analysis and inference of nineteenth-century dress in frontier Texas. A much-needed clarification to the understanding of clothing and clothing artifacts is needed not only for cemetery relocations, but also other archaeological sites of the same time period. With such a step towards the archaeological study of the materiality of dress, meaningful questions concerning its engagement and symbolism can further be addressed. Therefore, I synthesize my approach to identity by utilizing historical and archaeological studies of dress within the context of historic Texas, as I infer clothing worn at the Head and Adams Cemeteries, and I question nineteenth-century ideologies of gender and age.

SUMMARY OF RESULTS

Fashion and costume histories provide examples of clearly gendered clothing and adornment as dress shaped and was shaped by identity ideologies over the life course; however, resulting analyses at the Head and Adams Cemeteries illustrated unequal results. While I was able to discern one distinct artifact assemblage, other assemblages were more ambiguous (cf. Sørensen 2013: 136). Male clothing was most easily recognizable, especially for certain men over the age of 50 years. Aspects of their dress, including cuff and collar closures, visually symbolized their standing in the community, relatively higher economic status, and their longevity. Likewise, male children were introduced to gendered clothing as early as age three, and there were a higher number of

age-group related clothing items for males than females. However, these distinctively aged clothing sets were not observable archaeologically except for one case of short pants and diaper pins for infants. For women and children of all age groups, the archaeological evidence is more complicated due to a relative paucity of recovered fasteners and lack of textiles. The artifacts, in fact, are highly similar and included porcelain buttons, hooks and eyes, safety and straight pins, and adornment of beaded necklaces. Despite the fact that fashion history is suggestive of fairly distinctive forms of dress for adult females and female children (particularly infants), there was no clear difference between their respective clothing artifact assemblages. Summarily, the results indicate that dress artifacts require nuanced interpretation and do not necessarily fall into readily identifiable patterns or groups by age and gender for all individuals.

OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

This research contributes insights into the archaeological study of clothing, as well as how this clothing might be inferred and interpreted in nineteenth-century Texas. In the subsequent chapter, I focus on the archaeological recovery of dress within cemeteries utilizing the example of the Head and Adams Cemeteries, and then more specifically examine how clothing was used to articulate age and gender within dynamic family and community relations.

In Chapter 2, I discuss the theoretical framework influencing my study and provide an overview of other notable historic cemetery relocations. I draw upon the work of previous archaeologists, as well as anthropologists, costume historians, and historians of the period in order to discuss the material culture of dress, and its intrinsic link to identity. I specifically provide a setting for analyzing dress in regard to age and gender within mortuary contexts.

In Chapter 3, I establish a context for the investigation of the Head and Adams Cemeteries by providing a history of the community of Headsville and Head's Prairie

through census data, memoirs, previous archaeological investigations, and historical references. I then discuss gender ideologies influencing dress during the nineteenth-century. This is followed by a specific overview of the archaeological relocations of the cemeteries carried out by PBS&J, later Atkins, from 2009 to 2012. Information included here incorporates spatial organization, grave markers, interment phases, and osteological data as synopses of the sites.

In Chapter 4, I provide an overview of historic dress in nineteenth-century America. Drawing upon literature from various sources, I present women's, men's, children's, and infants' apparel, undergarments, shoes, jewelry and adornment during the period of 1850 to 1900.

Chapter 5 provides a select guide for the most commonly-recovered archaeological remains of dress utilizing the findings from the Head and Adams Cemeteries as an outline of materials. Clothing fasteners of buckles, buttons, cuff and collar fasteners, hooks and eyes, rivets, straight and safety pins, shoe and shoe parts, beads, decorative hair combs and pins, and rings are detailed.

Chapter 6 presents the analysis of dress-related data recovered from the Head and Adams Cemeteries following the outline provided in Chapter 5. The cemeteries are discussed jointly as part of a broad intra-site assemblage of two contemporaneous cemeteries from within the same rural community.

In Chapter 7, I interpret artifacts of clothing and adornment recovered from the two cemeteries. In the first portion of the chapter, I describe the gendered clothing assemblages observed within the data set. I offer clothing types and styles for each burial corresponding to the artifactual remains present and describe the dress of the community of Headsville. In the second portion of the chapter, I discuss the ways in which artifacts evidence the construction of personal and group identities according to gender and age.

Chapter 8 concludes this dissertation project by providing a summary of the significance of dress in the material record of mortuary archaeology.

Chapter 2: Foundations for Dress and Identity in Mortuary Archaeology

Clothing research has attracted interest in anthropology over the past two decades, experiencing renewed explorations of social life within the theoretical paradigms of consumption, as well as identity, agency, practice, and performance (Hansen 2004: 370, White 2002, White and Beaudry 2009: 209). Anthropologists have engaged with dress on a symbolic level as archaeologists have strived to infer dress from sometimes fragmentary archaeological remains and other lines of historical evidence (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005; Davidson 2014; Durham 1999; Flewellen 2018; Franklin in press; Hansen 2004; Heath 1999; Hendrickson 1995; Lindbergh 1999; Loren 2010; Loren and Beaudry 2006; Van Buren and Gensmer 2017; White 2002, 2004, 2005, 2008, 2009; White and Beaudry 2009). In this work, I engage with the materiality of clothing as I endeavor to represent dress within its own right, as well as a site for the symbolic expression of gender and age.

In this chapter, I outline anthropological conceptions of identity and their relevance to dress within archaeological studies. Lastly, I discuss the primary references for mortuary studies within Texas as conducted by cultural resource management (CRM) archaeologists. I specifically address the prevailing content of such studies, and I situate my work as an opportunity to expand and improve on the archaeological identification and interpretation of dress and dress-related artifacts.

Analyzing Identity: Age and Gender in Dress Studies

Modern conceptions of self-identity are relatively recent and can be traced to the eighteenth century onward (Johnson 1999: 83, Williams 1988: 163). Accordingly, identity categories and definitions have altered over time as the politics of different identities have varied with context and, therefore, perceived importance (Insoll 2007:2). Current notions of identity within the social sciences and cultural studies reflect

contemporary politics and polemics concerning gender, sex, race, ethnicity, class, and religion (Insoll 2007, Meskell 2002, Williams 1988). A rise of interest in interpretive approaches to archaeology engages with issues of individual agency and the construction and communication of the social identities (Hodder 1986, 1989; Shanks and Tilley 1987a, 1987b; Thomas 1996; Tilley 1990; White and Beaudry 2009).

As approaches to the study of identity encompass a deep breadth of research in archaeology, I chose to interpret identity through the materiality of dress within mortuary contexts. I argue that dress is an unparalleled assemblage of artifacts to aid in the understanding of how people used clothing to create and express social difference in the broader milieu of communities, and how this might reflect personal and cultural ideas about symbolizing age and gender (Cochran and Beaudry 2006, Franklin in press, Loren and Beaudry 2006, White and Beaudry 2009, White 2002).

What, then, is social identity, and what constitutes a particular identity? How can identities be "determined" archaeologically? One aspect of identity that can be tangibly identified is the act of dress and adornment (Roach-Higgins and Eicher 1995, Sørensen 2000, Thomas and Thomas 2004, White 2004). An attempt at the material culture of identity requires a close examination of theoretical methods regardless of how the subject may be historically situated by the archaeologist in order to understand the variability of distinct subsets of material culture at more than a descriptive level (Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005: 3). However, analysis based on mere 'presence' or 'absence' of identifying factors needs further complication (Jones 1997). Reductionist attempts to wholly equate artifacts with particular identities leaves little room for the disruption of what appear to be stable categories through the agency of adults and children (Sofaer Derevenski 2006). Paradoxically, in order to investigate identities within archaeology, we must at once classify, yet use frameworks that allow for fluidity (Voss 2008). To analyze identity the categories must remain flexible yet recognizable. Attempting to identify aspects of identity through the assignment of aged and gendered objects is at once necessary as it is

fallible. This apparent logical fallacy in the search for identities within the archaeological record necessitates an attempt at reconciliation through the incorporation of multiple lines of evidence to "strengthen the empirical foundation of our interpretations" (Voss 2008:120, Wylie 1992). In effect, this not only acknowledges the need for nuanced consideration at a more subtle level, but also exercises a critical examination of essentialism as a necessary evil for descriptive purposes in archaeology (Meskell 2002: 286-287).

Interpretative archaeological theory positions identity formation in a relational and contextual process situated within time and place. Within my study, I operationalize identity to incorporate the ways in which "individuals create and experience themselves through their bodies…to better [understand] them as culturally-specific, multiply-constituted social beings" (Fischer and Loren 2003: 225). That is to say for this specific historical context, sex, gender, and age were major forms of social difference. Within mortuary contexts, this necessitates an interpretation of biological sex and age. However, as Lynn Meskell (1996) argues, a more constructionist approach allows for an analysis of mutually-constituted identity through the physical body and social body. Additionally, by bearing in mind the social body, the limitations of gender as a direct correlation of biological sex, and the dichotomous schema this presents, can be avoided. I propose a definition of identity as, "the cultural interpretation of…differences that result in the categorization of individuals, artifacts, spaces, and bodies" (Gilchrist 1999: xv). This definition not only allows for the engendering of material culture and people, but also allows for divergence from a normative portrayal of a two-gender system. Although the historical context of nineteenth-century Texas may categorically follow a gendered and aged binary of social difference, it is important to recognize potential etic bias, critique identity classifications, and leave room for potential non-normative expressions.

The material culture of dress exemplifies a tangible aspect of identity and provides a visual metaphor into the constructed categorical aspects of identity. Following

a long history of archaeologies of identity utilizing the skeletal and cultural material available through burial contexts as a means to explore biological and social intersections of age and gender, I outline an understanding of how dress was manipulated to signal a range of messages including gender and age during the nineteenth century (Baxter 2008: 162, Sofaer Derevenski 2000).

The way in which appearance is constructed through dress is recognized as a central element of social and individual identities as it signifies social communication (Sørensen 2000: 128). Identities, such as age and gender, can be viewed as forms of representation within the dynamics of difference and similarity (Appadurai 1996: 12-14, Durham 1999: 403). Clothing, as a means of communicating these differences, is a 'social artifact' deriving its meaning from specific social contexts and mutual recognition (Joseph 1986: 49-51, Perrot 1994: 8). In nineteenth-century American society, clothed appearances were significantly gendered. These visual representations of inclusive and exclusive appearances signaled different aspects of one's intersectional identity thus effectively constructing, maintaining, or negotiating these differences (Eicher and Roach-Higgins 1992: 19, Sørensen 2000: 128-129). Dress is at once invented and conformed as it is sewn from personal choice and learned from others within a complex set of social expectations of behavior (Roach and Eicher 1979: 7, Sørensen 2000: 133). This positions dress, clothing, and adornment as potent material culture for the archaeology of age and gender.

Analyses of dress have in large part focused on descriptive aspects, such as reconstruction and categorizations of types of clothing. Within archaeology, especially funerary archaeology, it is important to establish what types of dress may or may not be present from the often-fragmentary evidence and absence of textiles. However, it is important to maintain that dress is part of a "process of becoming rather than a state of being," (Sørensen 2000: 133). Marie Louise Stig Sørensen (2000) provides an alternative methodology by which she proposes to avoid such limitations by asserting that dress

should be understood more holistically. As clothing is "composed of single elements that are combined at different levels which may each involve distinct concerns and principles" (Sørensen 1997: 133). Her suggestions for analysis include considerations of the creation of materials, how the objects are used, and articulation between objects and the body (Sørensen 2000[1997]: 134). This strongly echoes earlier theoretical moves to consider material culture as social discourse (Beaudry et al. 1991). Illustrating these methods of analysis, Sørensen (1997) considered the creation of differences through the use of costume in European Bronze Age burials. While Sørensen draws specifically upon textile production and use within this case study, it is important to note the meaning associated with creation of garments and the practices this entails. Moreover, the emphasis placed on how items of dress were employed not only according to functional attributes, but also in combination with other artifacts and the body, allows for multiply-constituted social meanings to be explored. Recognizing that the relationship between dress, artifact, body, and by extension, the deceased, is socially constructed in different ways, provides an avenue by which the similarity and differentiation of identities, such as age and gender, may be studied.

Additionally, this relationship is continuously open for difference and change (Sørensen 2000: 135). This serves as an important reminder of the complexity, sociality, and individuality of dress. This is also noted by Diana DiPaolo Loren (2010) in her study of dress in *Archaeology of Clothing and Bodily Adornment in Colonial America*. Working from nonperishable fragments that once were part of clothing and adornment, Loren employs multiple lines of evidence including ethnographic examples, contemporary images and art, as well as primary documents, to investigate the ways in which dress was symbolically created, employed, and reconstituted by interactions between Europeans, Africans, and Native Americans during the colonial period. Particular attention is given to attempting to reconstruct whole ensembles of dress within burials by surveying how small objects, such as beads and buttons, were laid out in

relation to one another and the body. Similar to Sørensen, Loren provides case studies as to the theoretical implications of identity and the materiality of dress within the sphere of society and the individual.

As exemplified by the above theoretical and methodological principles, I promote a feminist, constructionist and interpretative view towards how identities could be multiply constituted as they are adopted or adapted through the symbolism of material culture of dress. Studying how gendered maturity was socially defined according to distinct or indistinct stages of life from infancy to old age requires an examination of the theory of the life course.

GENDER THROUGH THE LIFE CYCLE

A time before adulthood is a universal human experience; however, childhood is not a monolithic human experience (Crawford and Lewis 2008). The inclusion of children as a meaningful category of identity analysis has been obstructed by both the relatively recent Western definition of modern childhood as well as children's perceived invisibility in the archeological record (Aries 1962, Baxter 2008, Gilchrist 2004, Sofaer Derevenski 2006). Although the epistemological validity of the categories of "child" and "childhood" may be questioned as emergences from presentist social phenomena, theorizing a life of trajectories and transitions for individuals within historically-, culturally- and socially-specific contexts allows for a broadened schema in which to situate "childhood" (De Lucia 2010, Johnson 2007, Lynch 1999, Rotman 2005). The following will consider discussions of age and children and a consideration of theorizing the life course.

Age, aging, child, childhood, adult, and adulthood are inherently linked through a continuum of the biological life cycle and social life course as culturally defined life stages from infancy to old age. However, the meaning of these constructs is positioned on the basis of social organization (Kamp 2001). The categories of child, and resultant

childhood, can be seen in a dialectic relationship with maturity and adulthood operating within specific historical and social structures (Sofaer Derevenski 2006). The term "children" should be understood in the context of a cultural environment both acquired and transformed among adults and youth alike since children operate as subjects and agents (Lillehammer 1989). This cautions one to use reflexive, and culturally-specific definitions of child and childhood with an eye towards the shifting assumptions of the place, role, and status of children while remaining aware that representations may be idealized as part of a dominant discourse (Baxter 2008). This redresses the (mis)conceptions of childhood by focusing on the developmental process as identity structuring is fabricated, mediated, and conveyed (Sofaer Derevenski 2006). The terms child and childhood can then be understood as transitions in the course of life within culturally- and temporally-specific contexts.

Aspects of identities, such as age, are part of a larger social experience and social life that should be considered in terms of life cycles (Meskell 1999). By applying a more interpretative approach to material culture and the individual, "the wider social construction of the gendered life course can be traced from the level of the individual as transformation of biological sex and physiological age of the body is culturally meaningful phenomena," (Sánchez Romero 2009: 21). This encompasses the theory of a constructionist position in theorizing, "how society gives social and personal meanings to the passing of biographical time" (Hagestad 1990: 151).

When considering the life course within a constructionist perspective, an attempt is made to understand the experience of human life as a continuum (Gilchrist 2004, Johnson 2007). Biological, linear, biographical, and social change within the continuum can be demarcated by rites of passage or left uncelebrated. It is these attenuated or formal changes corresponding to age and aging that play a vital element in social identity as they are contextualized historically as culturally constructed phenomena. Not solely attributed to biology or maturity, these combine to produce differing life experiences for women,

men, and especially children. Aging changes status in the family and community, and consequently social roles, which can be particularly marked during the successive developments of maturing children. From this constructionist framework, the theory of life course bridges both biological and social concerns and mediates fluidity to the interstices of identities.

Greta Lillehammer (1989: xx) takes this concept one step further with her notion of the "child's world." She states that approaches should "link the child collectively to aspects of time, space, culture, and identity and include the diversity of children," which is deemed the "world of children." In essence, this centers the life course around the agency of children as active participants in social life as they age and emerge into differing social expectations. Similarly, Rosemary Joyce (2000) employees the notion of a subject developing through the span of human life according to the meaning and experience of multiple and often competing discourses. She engages with life cycle practices acted upon and enacted by children to form gendered roles upon achieving adult status.

Contextualizing age within specific social and historical circumstances as culturally-delineated liminal spaces within the life course allows for a view of childhood as both relational and contextual. This provides new scales of analysis at nuanced individual and community levels. Therefore, I map the life cycle from childhood to adulthood through dress.

DRESS IN MORTUARY CONTEXTS

Textile analysts, costume historians, designers, art historians, psychologists, sociologists, and anthropologists are among many who share an interest in the history of dress (Hansen 2004: 370). In examining dress within mortuary contexts, I draw mainly from descriptive literature and interdisciplinary anthropological theory. Within my dissertation, I adopt a definition of dress put forward by Eicher and Roach-Higgins

(1992) as an "assemblage of body modifications and/or supplements." However, I use the terms clothing, clothes, and dress interchangeably in the inclusive sense of dress defined above (Hansen 2004: 371). In most cases within mortuary archaeology, dress is limited to the identification of fasteners, adornment, and select personal items. Yet, these partially extant remains of dress can be elucidated through the incorporation of costume history and anthropology.

Costume historians have primarily been concerned with the materiality, such as details of a garment, its construction, and fashionable trends; whereas, anthropologists and archaeologists mostly study social and cultural meanings of dress (Crane and Bovine 2006; Davidson 2014; Díaz-Andreu and Lucy 2005; Durham 1999; Eicher 2000; Fischer 2001; Gilchrist 2004; Hansen 2004; Roach-Higgins et al. 1992, 1995; Sørensen 2000; Thomas and Thomas 2004; White and Beaudry 2009). Other archaeologists have put forth studies detailing representations of dress and identity for specific regions and time periods (Chicone 2011; Cofield 2012; De Lucia 2010; Flewellen 2018; Galle 2010; Heath 1999, 2004; Hendrickson 1995; Hinks 1988; Hutchins 2013; Joyce 2000; Lindbergh 1999; Loren 2001, 2010; Loren and Beaudry 2010; Lynch 1999, McCafferty and McCafferty 2006; Psota 2002; Salmi and Kuokkanen 2014; Smith 2017; Ulrich 1991; Van Buren and Gensmer 2017; White 2002, 2004, 2008, 2009). Archaeological attempts to understand dress within the burial context in Texas have been limited to identification and cursory, if any, analyses of the social meaning of clothing mostly within the sphere of cultural resource management mitigation reports (see Crow 2004). With exception, the Freedman's Cemetery in Dallas, Texas, received careful attention to the inventory of items of clothing, as have several projects outside of Texas (Brantley 1998, Davidson and Black 2015, Heath 1999, Hintlian 2001, Little et al. 1992, McGowan and Prangnell 2011, Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Manheim et al. 2006, Owens and Green 2000, Owsley et al. 2006, Perry et al. 2006, Welker 1999, Wilson and Cabak 2004). More recently, dress findings from the Third New City Cemetery have been reassessed for inferred clothing

types and consumptive practices of identity within the historic African American community of Houston, Texas (Franklin in press).

However, one aspect of analyses should not take precedent over the other, as the material study of dress must precede any meaningful questions concerning its employment and symbolism (Sørensen 2000: 133). Therefore, I synthesize my approach to identity by utilizing historical and archaeological studies of dress in the nineteenth-century.

Archaeology of Dress in other Texas Cemeteries

Situating my work within the context of research into nineteenth-century dress in Texas, I provide a sample of grey literature reporting exhumations at Texas cemeteries, as well as a few notable non-Texas examples. While this list is not exhaustive, it is likely representative of the bulk of previous investigations into cemeteries comparable to the Head and Adams Cemeteries (Table 2.1). Here, I focus on presentations and discussions of dress as I build upon this literature in order to move towards a comprehensive identification of the archaeological remains of dress in cemeteries and other contexts, and also to instigate further research into interpretations of the materiality of historic identities.

Table 2.1 Sample of Comparative Cemeteries

Cemetery	State	Period	Area	Social Affinity	No. of Burials	Type	Source
Morgan Chapel	TX	1884-1951	Rural	Euro. American	32	Churchyard	Taylor et al. 1986
Roberts Cemetery	TX	1895-1930s	Rural	Euro. American	4	Community	McWilliams et al. 2014
Greenwood / Potter's Field	TX	1878-1911	Urban	Euro. American	14	Pauper	Tiné et al. 2002
Third New City Cemetery	TX	1875-1883 / 1890-1905	Urban	Afr. American	446	City	Bond et al. 2002
Choke Canyon Reservoir	TX	1860-1913	Rural	Euro. American	34	Family	Fox 1984
Montgomery Hill	TX	1865-1885	Rural	Afr. American	25	Community	Feit et al. 2013
Freedman's	TX	1869-1907	Urban	Afr. American	1,157	City	Peter et al. 2000
Pioneer	TX	1880-1921	Urban	Afr. American	14	Churchyard	Boyd et al. 2016
Abstein / Eldridge	TX	1884-1892	Rural	Euro. American	4	Aggregate	Broehm et al. 2004
Becky Wright & Eddy	AR	1873-1900	Rural	Euro. American	26	Family/Community	Mainfort and Davidson 2006
Grafton	IL	1836-1892	Urban	Euro. American	252	City	Buikstra et al. 2000
Son's	SC	1862-1972	Rural	Euro. American	6*	Family	Trinkley et al. 2011

Note: *Number of contemporaneous interments

Abstein/Eldridge Cemetery

The Abstein Cemetery was a small collection of graves excavated in 2003 in Harris County, Texas (Broehm et al. 2004: vii). A total of three burials contained the remains of four individuals dating from 1884 to 1892 of likely German heritage (Broehm et al. 2004: 26). The only clothing remains identified were oval, bone buttons and fragments of leather. Dress artifacts were presented in individual burial summaries along with a summarized supposition that, due to provenience and osteological sex of the skeleton, the bone buttons may have been associated with a blouse or dress of a female (Broehm et al. 2004: 26).

Choke Canyon Reservoir

Five, small, rural cemeteries in Live Oak and McMullen Counties, Texas, were the first historic cemeteries to be archaeologically excavated in Texas between the years of 1981 and 1982 (Fox 1984: i). The cemeteries serviced families loosely surrounding the Yarbrough Bend community between 1860 and 1913 (Fox 1984: 53). Dress artifacts recovered from the cemeteries include composition, glass, metal, porcelain, and shell buttons, shoes and shoe leather, shoe eyelets, a metal belt buckle, silver concha, fabric, safety and straight pins, a brooch, a religious medallion, hair comb and pins, finger rings, and a sock (Fox 1984: 5-36). Inventories of recovered clothing remains were contained within individual burial descriptions along with some interpretations of clothing types and gender and age. Burials lacking clothing remains or containing only straight pins were interpreted as interments in winding sheets, or shrouds (Fox 1984: 52).

Freedman's Cemetery

A portion of the Freedman's Cemetery in Dallas, Texas, was excavated between the years of 1990 and 1994. Investigations revealed a total of 1,150 graves containing the remains of 1,157 individuals (Owens and Green 2000: 409). Burials were determined to have taken place between 1869 to 1907 and were associated with the historic freedman's

community (Clow 2000: 219). Dress artifacts recovered from the cemetery were myriad and include buttons, buckles, snaps, hook and eyes, shoes, straight pins, jewelry, hair combs and pins, pocket knives, fraternal society and union items, and eyeglasses (Owens and Green 2000: 409). Seminal in archaeological research on nineteenth-century dress, artifacts from the Freedman's Cemetery were discussed collectively by type, followed by a discussion of men's, women's and children's clothing (Owens and Green 2000: 410-447).

Greenwood Cemetery/Potter's Field Cemetery

In 2001, fourteen unmarked burials were excavated bordering the Greenwood Cemetery in Dallas, Texas. Burials were presumed to belong to white paupers interred between the years of 1878 and 1911 (Tiné et al. 2002: xi). Items of dress recovered within the burials include glass, porcelain, and metal buttons, studs, straight and safety pins, suspender hardware, shoes, and fabric. Personal items include a dental appliance, comb, key, pocket knife, and pencil (Tiné et al. 2002: 67). Dress artifacts were utilized as temporal indicators, as well as to discuss inter- and intra-site clothing assemblages according to gender and age. A preponderance of porcelain buttons was noted in male, female, and child burials, and was considered problematic to interpretation (Tiné et al. 2002: 82). Of interest, a single burial was skeletally assessed as a female, but also contained suspenders, a pocket knife, and a railroad key, which necessitated a discussion of identity (Tiné et al. 2002: 81).

Montgomery Hill Cemetery

Upon rediscovery, the Montgomery Hill Cemetery in Navarro County, Texas, exhibited a total of 25 burials dating from 1865 to 1885. Excavations undertaken in 2011 and 2012 revealed a rural, community cemetery servicing area black sharecroppers (Feit et al. 2013: iii). Clothing remains identified at the cemetery include porcelain, shell, bone, glass, and metal buttons, straight pins, hook and eyes, rivets, rings, beaded necklaces,

tooth and coin pendants, shoes, and fraternal society emblems (Feit et al. 2013: 45-124). Dress artifacts were discussed within individual burial descriptions as inferences of clothing worn by the deceased and were examined according to notions of African American identity (Feit et al. 2013: 140).

Morgan Chapel Cemetery

In 1984, the Morgan Chapel Cemetery in Bastrop County was excavated identifying a total of 21 marked and unmarked burials. Burials were presumed to belong to the once surrounding white community and dated between 1891 and 1937 (Taylor et al. 1986: 1). Very few articles of dress were recovered with the exception of a hair comb, safety pins, a beaded necklace, small porcelain buttons, metal cuff buttons, "clips", and a "garment hook" (Taylor et al. 1986: 18). Notably, textiles were analyzed for material, warp, and weave when identified within a burial. Analysis of dress was limited to listing with few instances of suggested clothing and inferred gender and age (Taylor et al. 1986: 17-23). An argument was made for the use of shrouds or winding sheets due to the paucity of artifacts.

Pioneer Cemetery

A total of fourteen interments from within the Pioneer Cemetery, located in Brazoria County, were relocated in 2003 and 2008 to 2009 (Boyd and Norment 2016: 1). The cemetery was founded in 1888 to serve local African American churches and is still sporadically in use today; however, the fourteen burials date to no later than the early twentieth century. Dress artifacts reported at the cemetery include porcelain, bone, and celluloid buttons, hair pins and a barrette, decorative pins, an animal bone pendant, safety pins, shoe buckles, rings, earrings, buckles, a collar stud, and a prosthetic leg. Dress remains were listed within individual burial descriptions (Norment et al. 2016: 33-56) and also discussed according to artifact type (Norment and Boyd 2016: 99-113).

Roberts Cemetery

In 2012, four burials near the boundary of the Roberts Cemetery in Bell County, Texas, were relocated. The cemetery served a rural, white community and the interments occurred between 1895 and the late 1930s (McWilliams et al. 2014: x). Clothing items recovered within the burials include shell and composite metal buttons, cufflinks, shirt eyelets, fabric, safety pins, snaps, and a collar stay (McWilliams et al. 2014: 29). Discussions of clothing artifacts were detailed within individual burial descriptions as temporal indicators, and in some cases, as types of clothing (McWilliams et al. 2014: 27-45, 121).

Third New City Cemetery

The Third New City Cemetery (TNCC) was excavated in Houston, Texas, between the years of 1996 and 1998. A total of 446 burials were identified, which were likely associated with the former, surrounding freedman's community founded in the late nineteenth century (Bond et al. 2002: x). Individuals were predominantly thought to be of African American descent, as well as of American and Hispanic descent (Bond et al. 2002: 130). Interments were determined to have taken place during two distinct time periods between 1875 to 1883 and 1890 to 1905 (Bond et al. 2002: 175).

Clothing and adornment recorded at TNCC include shell, bone, rubber, porcelain, and glass buttons, safety pins, hook and eyes, eyelets, rivets, dress beads, snaps, buckles, shoes, fabric, necklaces, earrings, rings, bracelets, decorative pins, hair pins and combs, and cuff links/holders/studs (Bond et al. 2002: 154,155). Artifacts were discussed by type, and some determinations of gender and age were made under the assumption that suspenders, pants buttons, and cuff closures were male, while hook and eyes, beaded clothing, and "female-looking" buttons were female (Bond et al. 2002: 162). An appendix followed the report illustrating many of the artifacts.

More recently, Maria Franklin (in press) revisited data collected from the relocation of the TNCC in an effort to identify patterns of use and interpret kinds of clothing for adult men and women to assist future research on clothing fasteners in other contexts. Franklin discerned gendered patterns of clothing, but more importantly, provided exceptional cases of dress revealing the agency, consumerism, and sartorial practices exercised by African Americans in segregationist Texas.

Becky Wright & Eddy Cemeteries

Two late-nineteenth century cemeteries located in Crawford County, Arkansas, were excavated in 2001 (Mainfort and Davidson 2006: ii). The Becky Wright and Eddy Cemeteries were utilized by families of European American descent within a once rural area. Dress artifacts reported at the cemeteries include cloth-covered, porcelain, metal, composition, and glass buttons, rivets, buckles, suspender hardware, shoes, safety pins, cuff and collar studs, hair combs, and decorative pins (Mainfort and Davidson 2006: 171-190). Clothing and personal effects at the two cemeteries were discussed within individual burial descriptions (Mainfort and Davidson 2006: 17-66), categorically (Mainfort and Davidson 2006: 171-190), and as reconstructions of attire (Mainfort and Davidson 2006: 190-201).

Grafton Cemetery

The Grafton Cemetery, located in Jersey County, Illinois, was excavated in 1995. The cemetery served the city from 1836 to 1892 and was reported to have been used by Americans of European descent (Buikstra et al. 2000). A total of 252 burials contained items of dress including extensive textiles, porcelain, metal, bone, glass, and hard rubber buttons, shoes, buckles, beaded necklaces and costume, hair combs, brooch, finger rings, coins, an artificial limb, and pencil lead (Buikstra et al. 2000: 65-82). A juvenile boy's outfit in its entirety was preserved in an iron coffin, as well as remarkable amounts of hair. This allowed for the description of various female hair styles. Artifacts were

discussed according to type with a consideration of nineteenth-century costuming and temporality (Buikstra et al. 2000: 76-81). Special attention was paid to textile and bead analyses.

Son Cemetery

The Son's Cemetery located in Lexington County, South Carolina, was archaeologically relocated in 2011 at the behest of descendants (Trinkley et al. 2011: i). Dating from 1862 to 1972, the Son's Cemetery contained nine burials of marked and known individuals, six of which were interred in the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. Dress artifacts recovered from that period included porcelain, metal and hard rubber buttons, suspender hardware, a collar stay, shoe eyelets, confederate decorations, metal snaps, decorative pins, and a brooch. Discussions of artifacts and inferred clothing types, and more importantly, styles, were presented within each individual burial description (Trinkley et a. 2011: 45-104). Textile analysis was undertaken which further allowed for specific identification of a male clothing assemblage (Trinkley et al. 2011: 84).

Summary

The above cemetery reports vary on the level of detail provided concerning dress artifacts, inferred clothing styles, and interpretations of identity. Some, but not all, of the data sets above include similar details about archaeologically-accessible dress attributes, such as clothes fasteners, that are readily available from excavations across the United States. However, the treatment of such information varies drastically. In many ways, this is the lot of CRM, which is more often than not constrained by time and budget. Many of these previous mortuary investigations have mainly centered on presentation of data without a functional framework under which to readily compare data. When considered, inferred dress is also rarely brought into the context of historic conceptions of identity, let alone specific discussions of age and gender. The most notable exceptions include work

done on the Freedman's Cemetery in Dallas, Texas, as well as the Becky Wright & Eddy Cemeteries in Arkansas, Montgomery Hill in Navarro County, Texas, the Greenwood Cemetery/Potter's Field Cemetery in Dallas, Texas, and a revisit to the Third New City Cemetery in Houston, Texas (Feit et al. 2013, Franklin in press, Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Owens and Green 2000, Tiné et al. 2002).

My dissertation project diverges in that it builds upon existing strategies for the interpretation of mortuary remains and provides a functional system for the identification of dress artifacts, a presentation of patterns of artifacts indicative of particular types of historic clothing and adornment informed by multiple lines of evidence (Franklin in press, Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Owens and Green 2000). However, my research compliments these studies by taking a slightly different perspective on dress-related artifacts, as I interweave theoretical perspectives on gender and age through the life course to gain insight through the ritual of dressing the dead.

CONCLUSIONS

I utilize a model of identity within the framework of the life course, in order to interpret how gender was, or was not, materialized through the lens of archaeological remains recovered from the Head and Adams Cemeteries. As dress is inextricably linked to conceptions of identity, this investigation into historic formations of identities emphasizes age and gender as articulated both on a personal and social level as individual burials within a collective, community cemetery. In order to illustrate how the community of Headsville used items of material culture to construct and negotiate maturation and attendant qualities, the following chapter presents a historical background of the emergence of the settlement, the gender ideologies influencing society at the time, and previous archaeological investigations at the two cemeteries.

Chapter 3: History and Background of Headsville

This chapter provides an overview of the small, nineteenth-century community of Headsville, also known as Head's Prairie, in which both the Head and Adams Cemeteries were once located. I draw primarily from archival data, census records, and deed transactions, as well as other primary sources, such as memoirs and church accounts. The history presented here serves to contextualize the dress-related practices of this community, and the process of identity formation that their residents negotiated. Following a presentation of the history of the community and the predominant gender and age ideologies of the nineteenth-century, I introduce the data recovered from the archaeological relocation of the Head and the Adams Cemeteries.

HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF HEADSVILLE AND HEAD'S PRAIRIE

The Head Cemetery (41RT409) and the Adams Cemetery (41RT367) were located within the now defunct community of Headsville, or Head's Prairie, in Robertson County, Texas. Among the interments of Head Cemetery is believed to be the mortal remains of James Alfred Head (1797-1872), the patriarch of the Head family, as well as the namesake of Headsville and the area of Head's Prairie (Figure 3.1).

Figure 3.1 Photograph of James Alfred Head circa 1860 (Courtesy of the Texas Ranger Museum, Waco, Texas).

Headsville was a small, apparently successful community in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries but went into a rapid decline and has all but disappeared. At its peak in the late nineteenth century, the community was home to a cotton gin, gristmill, two stores, a blacksmith shop, post office, school, and several residences (Harris 2012: np, Sparks 1955:1). After the closing of the post office in 1905, the community's population numbered 75 by 1915 (Freeman Carson 1954). The only currently visible remains of the community include the Ebenezer Baptist Church and associated cemetery (Figure 3.2). This cemetery is also sometimes referred to as the Headsville Cemetery and should not be confused with the Head Cemetery of this report.

Figure 3.2 Ebenezer Church and Cemetery, 2016. Photograph by author.

Although the Head family owned property in the area of what would become known as Headsville as early as 1835, it was not until later that J.A. Head and other family members began to take up permanent residence in the area. J.A. Head purchased a tract of land from Jarrett Young, a free black man from Alabama, and possibly homesteaded in the general vicinity of what would become known as Headsville until moving to Washington (now Brazos) County in 1839 (Head 1997: 13). It is unknown what precipitated the Head family's movements to and from this area; however, this time period also coincides with Head's and his brother-in- law, Eli Seale's, service in the Texas Rangers under the command of Superintendent Silas Parker of the famed "Fort Parker Massacre" of May 1836. Although it appears that neither Head nor his brother-in-law were directly involved in the Native American and white settler conflict on that day, family lore purports that J.A. Head's first-born son, Jesse (b. c. 1824), was either drowned in the Navasota River or kidnapped and murdered by "hostile Indians" sometime during this time period (Head 1997: 14). Regardless of the veracity of these

statements, family tragedy or concern for the family's safety may have influenced movement further back east. Yet, within ten years, the persistent Head family was again in the area of what would become Headsville.

Arriving in the late 1840s, Nancy Ophelia Head Irwin and Epfatha Head King, and their husbands, were the first members of the Head family to permanently settle in the Robertson and Limestone County area (Figure 3.3). Their father, J.A. Head, did not arrive in Head's Prairie until around 1851 to 1853 after retiring as Chief Justice of Brazos County, Texas. Prior to this, Head and his close associate, business partner, and brother-in-law, Eli Seale, had served in the Creek Wars in Alabama, as well as enlisting in one of the three Ranger companies authorized by the General Council of Texas on October 17, 1835. Head later became the captain of the company and went on to serve in the Republic of Texas Congress of 1842 (Harris 2012: np).

Figure 3.3 Photograph of Nancy Ophelia Head Irwin, date unknown (findagrave.com).

Upon his arrival to Robertson County around 1851, J.A. Head quickly began to divide his land holdings in the Headsville area among other family members, some of whom had already been living there. Land was granted to his nephew James Bullard, his sons-in-laws, Miles King, John Wilson, and Lockhart J. Irwin, as well as his other brother-in-law, Arnold Seale. With the exception of Seale, all of the families established adjoining households and farmsteads in the vicinity. J.A. Head resided in the household of his daughter, Lucinda Wilson, with his young sons, James and Edmund, after the passing of his wife, Elizabeth Seale, in Brazos County (Harris 2012: np).

Somewhat later, the Adams family arrived in the area sometime before 1860. Joseph Ross Adams first appears in U.S. census records in 1850 as a head of a household of four children and his wife, Frances, in San Augustine County, Texas. Although J.R. Adams did not purchase the tract of land on which the Adams homestead and cemetery were located until later, genealogical sources place them in Headsville prior to September 1857 with the marriage of J.R. Adam's daughter, Mary Francis, to J.A. Head's son, Ezra Eli Head (Head 1997: 14). This linked the Adams and Head families not only by marriage, but also proximity in the early years of the growing community of Headsville.

The larger "community" of dispersed, rural farmsteads primarily consisted of family members and acquaintances of the Head family who had migrated to Texas. This general movement west followed a pattern of European-descent yeoman farmers from the upper south migrating west during the mid-nineteenth century. Undoubtedly, these cultural groups inevitably brought with them customs and ideas of community and identity derived from the southeastern United States. Though their farms were in the general area of the future community of Headsville, the name "Headsville" does not appear in the archival record until circa 1880 when residents are noted as residing in the Headsville Precinct (Harris 2012: np). "As a result, early residents, including the extended Head family, likely identified themselves as residents of Head's Prairie if they self-identified as a community at all" (Harris 2012: np).

There were few local facilities including the lack of a church or school in the earliest years of Headsville. The nearby community of Eutaw served as the center for the Head family's religious and social gatherings including a Masonic Lodge chartered by Head and his nephew, James Bullard, in 1858. The family began to attend church nearer their homes after the Civil War, and a history of the Ebenezer Church identifies members of the Head, Bullard, and Clark families among its founders in 1876 (Ebenezer Church Records 1980: np). J.A. Head died in 1872 when the community would have included little more than a collection of farmsteads, the church, and what became known as the Head Cemetery, where he was laid to rest (Ebenezer Church Records 1980: np). Around the time of Head's death, other settlers began acquiring land in the area.

A formalized town plat in which the land was divided into lots and blocks was never completed (Sherman and Watkins 2007). With the arrival of the Houston and Texas Central Railroad in adjacent Limestone County in 1869, the region saw a surge in population and economic growth. The slow and sometimes unreliable transportation lines of the past had hampered the economic development of the local cotton industry, but the newly-established nearby rail system offered a physical link to most other parts of the nation, as well as access to previously inaccessible markets, and a greater variety of goods. This expansion is reflected in the town of Headsville with the addition of a cluster of commercial structures located along a bend in Headsville Road, such as a cotton gin, drug store, another store (possibly a general store), a blacksmith, and a post office (operated by J.G. Adams, son of Joseph Ross Adams). Two other important community institutions, the Headsville School and Ebenezer Church, were conveniently located within one mile of the town center.

Nevertheless, Headsville was never an overly prosperous community. The local businesses struggled to survive as they changed hands through the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Despite the economic boom brought by the railroad, Headsville had been overshadowed by the now regional commercial hub of Kosse, located about

eight miles northwest, which was serviced by the railroad. By the second decade of the twentieth century, all of the commercial establishments had been abandoned. Remaining farmsteads and households were hit hard by the Great Depression of the 1930s and continued to dwindle following a broader pattern of urban emigration subsequent to the Second World War. Remarkably, the community name of Headsville persists to this day on maps, attesting to the persistence of this now ghost town.

Similar to the settlement, archival and archeological evidence indicate that despite its historic name, the Head Cemetery actually served a broader community of local residents. Various families known to have used the cemetery, based on the presence of inscribed grave markers, include the related Head, Bullard, Seale, and Wilson families. Families unrelated by marriage include the Greers, the Birds, the Baileys, the Wrights, and the Lowns. Contrary to this, the Adams Cemetery consisted of much fewer marked and unmarked graves. The only two definitive interments include Joseph Ross Adams and his first wife, Mary Francis. While the Adams Cemetery appears to be a traditional, rural family cemetery, the Head Cemetery included the burials of a variety of relations and non-relations. This may indicate that despite their immediate proximity to one another, the Head and Adams Cemeteries were viewed as burial grounds of different types, perhaps speaking to how the community emerged and identified.

Daily Life on the Prairie

In 1955, Ethel Sparks née Wilson sat down to write her memoirs entitled "Some Things I Remember About 'Head's Prairie'" for her niece. Sparks was born on September 22, 1886, a descendant of the Wilson and Clark families (both related to the Head family) who lived in the Headsville and Head's Prairie area. Both families farmed, while the Clark family was actively involved in the Ebenezer Church (Ebenezer Church Records 1980: np). The Wilson family also operated a successful stoneware pottery factory (Sparks 1955: 1). At about the age two and a half years, her mother and father

moved her and her younger brother to Oklahoma Indian Territory on a covered wagon; however, according to Spark's recollections, "Mother and us children would go every opportunity we had," and spend time among their relations back in Headsville (Sparks 1955: 7). Sparks described her memories of mornings at her aunt and uncle's home as follows:

> Through the weekdays they would get up at 3 or 4 o'clock in the morning. Uncle Jim always would get up at 3 o'clock and build a big roaring fire in the fireplace and sit and chew his tobacco for about an hour then begin calling each child. First Etta, Ida, Lila, Myrtle, Tom, Phennan, Wiley, and eventually they would crawl up in the dark cold rooms across the hall and go to the fire to dress. After they began getting up Uncle Jim would go to the barn to feed the horses and mules. Some of the girls would go to the cow pen to milk the 8 or 10 cows-some to the kitchen to start breakfast…They would make up a fire in the big old cook stove range and put a big bread pan of green coffee grains into the oven to parch before they could make coffee. That coffee parching was simply the most wonderful smell one could imagine. One of the girls would go to the smoke house (another building still apart from the rest of house) and climb up on the barrels of molasses or whatever they were to reach the home cured meat hanging from the rafters and cut out a chunk to bring in for breakfast. Then put on two or three big bread pans of corn bread…Then the coffee would be parched and they would take a big cup full out to the coffee mill, which was nailed up on the outside corner of the smoke house and you've never tasted coffee unless you drank that. The smell was as good as the taste (9-10).

On washdays, the family would load up a wagon and go down to a creek surrounded by shade trees where they left their pots for boiling water. "It would take all day for such a big family; was no little job of clothes. About noon someone would bring the dinner down to the creek to us…and lots times we'd cook down there especially if we caught fish. We'd usually have hooks set out for fish while we washed" (Sparks 1955: 12).

To repair their clothes, they purchased thread and other such things from the local store (Sparks 1955: 16). For larger purchases it appears that some folks made the 26-mile westerly trip to Marlin. For Sparks' great aunt's wedding just after the Civil War her grandfather went to town and bought 26 yards of pure, purple silk for his wife's dress and 26 yards of pure, pink silk for his daughter's wedding dress. Both cost $6.00 per yard

(Sparks 1955: 33). "We think 26 y[ar]ds would be enough to make several dresses in this day and time but was only enough for the one dress then with their full hoop skirts. Mother said all the best seamstresses gathered in to help make them. She said, "they were indeed lovely, and she thought her mother and sister Mandy were the prettiest people in the world" (Sparks 1955: 33-34). This not only speaks to the community coming together to achieve a common goal, but also of the industry and lengths that the people of Head's Prairie sometimes went to in order to achieve what they perceived as fashionable and desirable attire.

Sparks also recounted more grim stories passed down to her by her mother. While it appears that other Clarks had been eulogized and buried at the Ebenezer Church, Spark's grandmother could not bear to bury her last-born child so far away (Sparks 1955: 30).

> They picked out the prettiest spot on the whole grounds for a family cemetery and their little Robert Lee was laid to rest. Mother said each day the first thing in the morning grandmother would walk down to the little grave and work and plant and take such loving care of it and mother would always go with her…Then each evening the last thing she would go to the little grave again and grieve. She showed me the little grave and the things grandmother had planted. The[ir] grandmother was also buried there and there were three other graves…some of the graves were covered over with stones cemented together kinder like a vault and some had lovely colored vases for flowers and shells and bits of colored china (30-31).

While peppered with nostalgia for a time gone by, the memoirs of Ethel Wilson Sparks give a voice to the community of Headsville and Head's Prairie during the late nineteenth century. The daily life and special events of families brought people together under the umbrella of neighbor, relative, and resident. As Sparks said, "The whole Head's Prairie would mean little now if I didn't remember it as it was then" (Sparks 1955 22).

GENDER IDEOLOGIES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Memories of Headsville recounted by Ethel Wilson Sparks echo social roles that were prevalent at the time in small, rural communities, and also in America at large. In 1870, despite the growth of urban centers with industrialization and immigration, seven out of ten people still lived in small towns and on farms (Hartman 2019). Emerging middle-class values and socio-political movements not only affected residents of cities but also members of smaller communities and homesteads across the nation. Entrenched aspects of social roles and interactions of social ideals were simultaneously being questioned as they were also reinforced. During the nineteenth century, American society struggled with three key social movements that sought to maintain or dismantle dominant social structures dealing with gender relations including the cult of domesticity, equal rights feminism, and domestic reform. Although each ideology was distinctive, the cult of domesticity set out to elevate a woman's place within a patriarchal household, while equal rights feminism and domestic reform sought to change women's social status through public politics or improving the conditions of women's lives (Rotman 2005: 4). However, each movement aimed to codify gender-appropriate behavior, rights, and responsibilities, and by association, dress. The measure by which any of these ideologies was adopted or rejected in whole or in part by individuals, families, or communities was likely influenced by circumstances, positions, and means. "Therefore, the ideologies which structured gender roles within families were not monolithic, but rather had a multiplicity of material expressions over space and time," (Rotman 2005: 1). By examining these trends, a contextual basis for how social identities of gender and age might have been formed and lived in Headsville is illustrated.

First introduced early in the nineteenth-century, the cult of domesticity, sometimes referred to as the cult of true womanhood, emphasized femininity and women's key role within the household. Later in the 1800s, this was a prevailing value system especially in rural environments (Hartman 2019). Within the culture of

domesticity, the role of wife and mother was romanticized as ‘guardian of moral purity’ and ‘keeper of the household’ (Hartman 2019). According to this ideology, the household, or rather the home, was seen as a realm symbolically ruled by the virtues of the mother who offered estimable childrearing, pious guidance, and a clean and respectful haven from the outside world. This delineation of public and private domains led to the confines of domesticity enforcing ideals of gendered social, familial, and communal roles for both men and women. Material culture, such as dress, visualized this demarcation (Kidwell and Steele 1989, Ziesing 1991). Perhaps exemplifying this rather strict partition would be the concern to denote strictly male and female clothing wherein even women’s and men’s fastenings were differentiated on the basis of which direction they closed, right over left or left over right (Tarrant 1994: 24). However, “the real lived experiences of men and women under domesticity were often much more fluid than this rigid understanding would suggest” (Rotman 2005: 3).

In many ways the effects of first wave feminism and domestic reform on dress were the same. Although the push for women’s rights, most specifically suffrage, was sometimes seen as radical during the nineteenth century, the reform movement tread a more middle ground, while also attempting to influence the status of women outside the home within a patriarchal society. Dress was seen as tied to the definition of womanhood within these social movements. So inextricable were the connections that many feminists adopted the bloomer costume, so named for the exposure of long pants under a knee-length skirt, introduced by the suffragist, Amelia Jenks Bloomer around 1850 (Foote 1980: 3). The bloomer suit was jeered, and variously described by some as ‘depressing’, ‘ugly’, and ‘ill-fitting’ (Tandberg 1985: 22).

Women’s rights activists and dress reformers believed over attention to dress could corrupt the home and had the intention to relegate women to the periphery of life where they were to be ornamental fixtures outside the mainstream of public affairs. An undue regard for matters of dress was considered a "weakness of mind," and since

women presumably devoted much time to these matters, it seemed to equate them with less serious involvements. Contemporary Dio Lewis noted this tendency when reading newspaper accounts of social events. He pointed out that men attending gatherings were described in terms of what they did and what they said, while women were described only in terms of what they wore (Warner 1978). In opposition to this, feminists and in moderation, dress reformers, sought more freedom of movement both physically and metaphorically. While garments such as the bloomer suit were never fully adopted as daily wear by many American women, more loose-fitting attire, previously seen as work and home dress only, were slowly becoming more acceptable. Dresses like wrappers and Mother Hubbards became more popular through time and were increasingly seen outside of home and work as they were incorporated into the daily costume of many middle-class women (Tandberg 1985). As will be discussed within Chapter 7, many of the female interments at the Head and Adams Cemeteries are believed to have this type of burial attire. However, given the rural, frontier conditions that the women of Headsville were met with, this could be a social and political statement, or perhaps more likely, pragmatism.

In many cases, the precise extent to which advice was followed and differing ideologies of gender roles were accepted is unknown even though extant costumes, photographic portraits, and fashion plates from the nineteenth century reveal a somewhat elaborate style of dressing for the middle- and upper-class. Nevertheless, clothing of the family does illustrate unique material signatures of womanhood, manhood, and childhood, which reinforced social values. Instances of a lack of sexual distinction between the clothing of young boys and girls lent itself to the ideal of childhood innocence preserved by the fortitude of a virtuous mother and wife and sheltered by the vigor and prosperity of father and husband. In this way, "[dress] reveals the roles of adult and child, male and female in the context of one nuclear family and indicates acceptance of ideals of family, morality, gender, and childhood that were important cornerstones on

nineteenth-century American culture," (Baxter 2005: 87). However, these lines of evidence may paint an incomplete picture as they relate to nineteenth-century lifestyles of rural, working farmsteads like that of Headsville. How then were gender ideals and gender divisions compounded by the values of various social movements during the nineteenth century within the families and community of Headsville? How was this materially affected, and is this reflected in the social identity of their burial dress?

In conclusion, this brief history of Headsville within the context of nineteenth-century social ideologies provides a historical setting for exploration of how aspects of age and gender might have been enacted through dress. From the establishment of a collection of farmsteads, to the emergence of a small community in rural Texas, its residents participated in a daily life expressing their social identities as they encountered the cycles of life. Moreover, an integral part of this community's formation was the establishment of burial grounds. The discussion that follows provides an overview of the cemeteries in question, field and lab methods, the results of the excavation, including osteological data, and the chronology defined for the interment phases.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL INVESTIGATIONS

The Head Cemetery (41RT409) and the Adams Cemetery (41RT367) were previously located on the modern Kosse Mine, in Robertson County, Texas. Atkins and PBS&J (later Atkins), respectively, performed archaeological relocations of the graveyards at the request of the Luminant Mining Company between the years of 2009 and 2010, and 2011 and 2012. Investigations at the Head Cemetery identified 114 interments including 56 marked burials and 58 unmarked burials, while the Adams Cemetery contained 11 interments including two marked burials.

Field Methods

Burials were removed in a zonal system according to the anatomical positioning of an extended, supine burial. Zone A denoted the area around the cranium, Zone B the

right chest and arm, Zone C the left chest and arm, Zone D the right pelvis and leg, Zone E the left pelvis and leg, Zone F the right foot, and Zone G the left foot. Both skeletal and artifactual remains were carefully excavated, mapped, and photographed the same day as exposure, and transported to a secure, temporary laboratory located on the Kosse Mine, and in the case of the Head Cemetery, later the Atkins' Environmental Laboratory in Austin, Texas. Since most of the bone was degraded or fragile, it was removed with the surrounding matrix according to a modified zonal system as the positioning of each individual burial was recognized. Artifacts were also provenienced according to the zonal system and collected individually or according to type. After removal, the collected matrix was screened through incremental hardware mesh matrices of 1/4", 1/8", or 1/16" to recover both skeletal remains and artifactual remains according to the perceived level of preservation. All collected materials were bagged and placed into individual burial boxes lined with unbleached cotton batting.

Upon arrival at the field laboratory or the Austin laboratory, remains were secured within a locked facility with limited personnel access. As laboratory director, I then inventoried the remains and paperwork for tracking purposes. After initial inventory, all non-skeletal remains were separated for artifact-specific processing. As the remaining matrix was screened, any observed artifacts were bagged according to provenience and placed with other artifactual remains from the burial.

Artifacts recovered from each burial were dry brushed or cleaned with distilled water at my discretion. As a general guideline, fragile materials were lightly brushed or not treated due to fear of further damage. After air drying all artifacts on an 1/8" hardware mesh rack, artifacts from individual burials were sorted into gross typological categories. Excluded from this processing were the remains of burial container wood, which was stored for subsequent reinterment, after an examination for any decorative elements such as paint, fabric, or ornamental oxidation. However, no further analysis was performed.

HEAD CEMETERY (41RT409)

A total of 114 interments including 113 individuals and one lower leg were identified during archeological investigations in a roughly 513 square meter area. A brief description of the Head Cemetery follows including a description of the spatial organization, headstones and footstones, proposed interment phases, and interpreted biological sex and age. Information provided here is drawn primarily from my master's thesis on the Head Cemetery (Basse 2013). This brief overview serves as the overall context for the clothing and adornment artifacts recovered from the site, as well as a general setting for the interments (see Basse 2013).

Spatial Organization

The Head Cemetery was located on the side slope of a gentle rise with secondary growth of trees and shrubs primarily consisting of mesquite. Its overall organization was roughly rectangular, measuring approximately 27 meters north-south by approximately 19 meters east-west. The graves were generally evenly concentrated across the site with the exception of the southern half, specifically the southeastern quadrant, which contained fewer interments. All of the interments were oriented on a rough east-west axis so that the head was resting in the west and the feet in the east. This is a common feature of traditional Southern cemeteries, which is associated with the Christian belief of rising to face the morning sun on Judgment Day (Jordan 1982:30). Other traditional features at the Head Cemetery included rows, staggering, and clusters of burials.

The spatial patterning of the Head Cemetery seemed to represent groupings of relational burials in an overall linear pattern from north to south (Basse 2013: 9). These relational groupings are interpreted as evidence of familial or kinship bonds between the individuals buried as informed by the inscribed headstones (Figure 3.4).

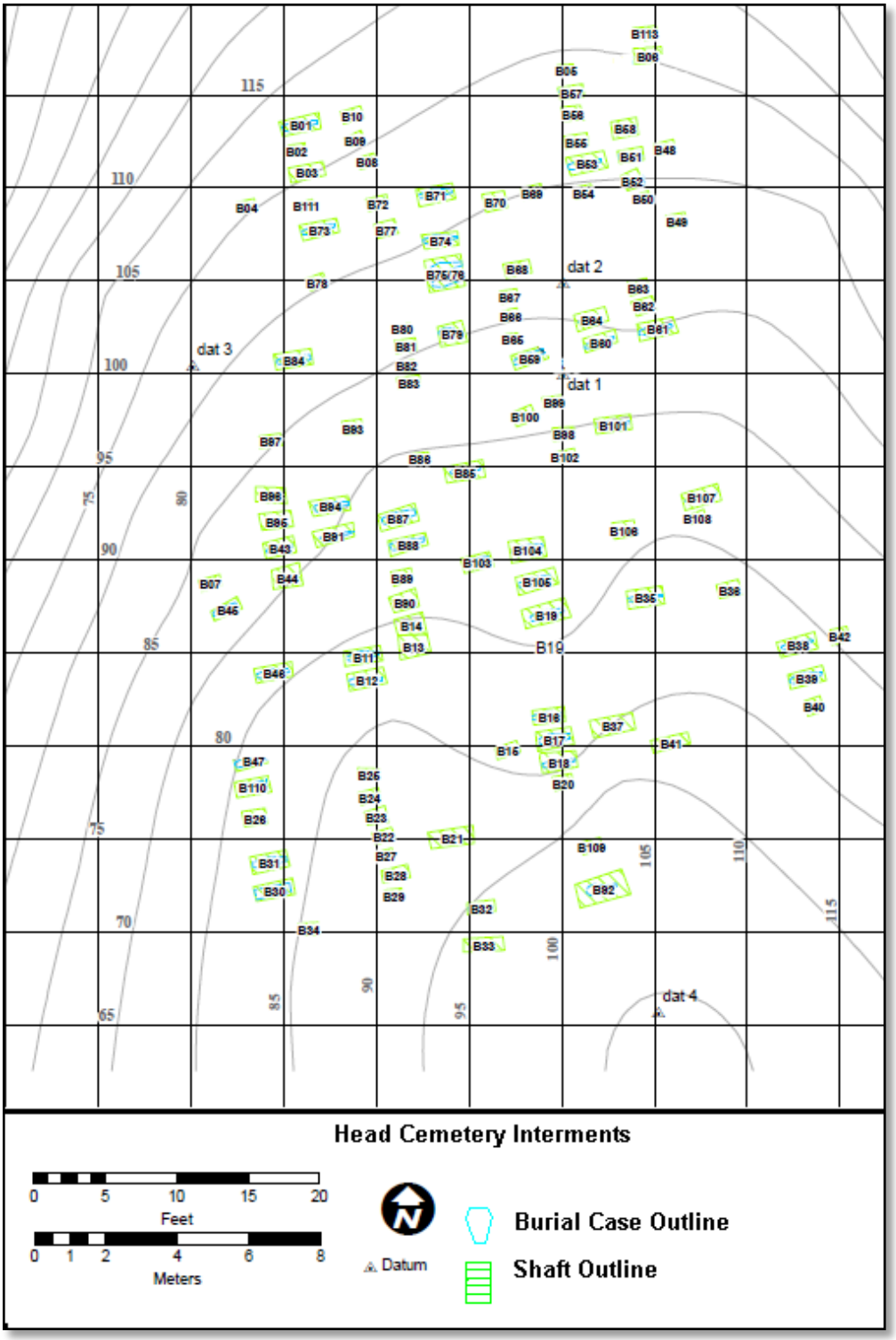


Figure 3.4 Head Cemetery Interment Map (Basse 2013).

Grave Markers

A total of 56 burials were attributed to 83 permanent stone markers, marker fragments, and brick crypts. The remaining 58 graves did not contain attributable markers or remnants of markers. The markers observed at Head Cemetery consisted of locally available hematitic sandstone, silicified wood, commercially-carved marble and limestone, and locally-produced handmade brick. However, most of the 83 markers were fragments of larger portions of markers, pairs of head and foot stones, unmarked fieldstones, and in one case, two separate headstones for the same individual. Therefore, only a total of 27 inscriptions were attributed to 19 individuals at the Head Cemetery (Table 3.1). Of this number, mostly male burials were marked with inscribed headstones including seven infant boys, four boys, one young man, one middle-aged man, and two men over the age of fifty years. The only two marked females were Elenia Bird and Susan Seale, both of whom were buried next to their infant sons. In addition, two illegibly carved fieldstones were observed.

Table 3.1 Dated Grave Markers at the Head Cemetery by Year of Death

Burial No.	Attributed Individual(s)	Year of Death	Age
65	James F. Head	1866	Infant
77	F. G. Wilson	1867	Unknown
66	William A. Head	c. 1868	Infant
107	Elenia Bird	1870	33 years
108	Preston Bird	1870	1 month
91	Isaiah Greer	1871	56 years
71	James Alfred Head	1872	75 years
53	Susan Irwin Seale	1873	24 years
54	Andrew Jackson Seale	1873	9 months
55	J. Walter Seale	1876	6 months
49	James Oscar Lown	1876	9 months
56	L. Oscar Seale	1878	10 months
73	Rufus B. Bullard	1878	19 years
59	John T. Head	1883	15 years
88	M. McCoy	1888	59 years
45	F.P. Wright	1888	36 years
47	J.D. Bailey	1888	11 years

Interment Dates

Interments dated at Head Cemetery from inscribed death dates on headstones range from 1867 to 1888. There were three intervals (Early, Middle, and Late) used to categorize the burials based on dateable coffin hardware including fastening types, ornamentation, decorative hardware, and nail types.

The earliest group of interments, or Early Interval, at the cemetery likely took place sometime before 1867 with the settling of the Head and extended families in the area and took place until sometime around 1870 (Table 3.2). These burials were characterized by cut nail or iron screw closures with a lack of external ornamentation, and the possibility of coffin lining. The only exception is Burial 90 with wire nails, which may be a later burial due to the common introduction of wire nails after about 1890.

Table 3.2 Proposed Interment Dates and Style Intervals at Head Cemetery

Style Interval	Proposed Interment Range	Burial Nos.
Early	1867 to 1870	2, 3, 4, 8, 9, 12, 15, 19, 20, 24, 25, 39, 40, 42, 44, 48, 50, 63, 65, 66, 68, 72, 74, 75, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 86, 93, 99, 102, 108, 109, 111, 112, 113
Middle	1870 to 1883	1, 5, 6, 7, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 26, 27, 28, 29, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 41, 43, 46, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 60, 61, 62, 64, 67, 69, 70, 71, 73, 76, 85, 87, 91, 92, 95, 96, 97, 98, 100, 101, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107
Late	1883 to 1900	30, 45, 47, 51, 52, 58, 59, 88, 89, 90*, 94, 110 *likely a later burial, but stylistically Early Interval

The second group of interments, or Middle Interval, is characterized by the use of coffin screws as a means of lid closure and decoration. Other ornamentation was not included with these burials with the exception of some copper ornamentation, fabric lining, and less frequently, coffin handles. Although coffin handles have appeared in archaeological contexts in Texas since the 1820s, the lack of handles at the Head

Cemetery is interpreted as a reflection of early limited market access as well as preference and/or economic circumstance (Crow 2004: 186-189). While cut nails were still predominant, instances of wire nail use was observed. This style of interment appears to have begun to occur from around 1870 to 1876 and as late as circa 1883.

The latest assemblage of burials, or Late Interval, is categorized according to its almost prolific use of decorative hardware. Combinations of thumbscrews, escutcheons, plaques, handles, copper ornamentation, fabric lining, viewing windows, caplifters, and compound closures were identified within the last group. While cut nails were still more commonly utilized, wire nails appear more frequently than in the first or second assemblages. This group of interments likely dates from around 1883 until the disuse of the graveyard at the turn of the century.

Each of the above interment phases at the cemetery represent stylistically similar burial containers with roughly contemporaneous dating components; however, these represent arbitrary divisions imposed for analysis, rather than how the community viewed their use of the cemetery. Distinctions, such as these, allow for later comparison to the Adams Cemetery, as well as diachronic view of possible changes in dress-related artifact assemblages. However, at both cemeteries, there appeared to be no major changes between clothing in either the Early, Middle, or Late Periods.

Osteological Data

Overall preservation was rather poor for the 114 interments, and in some cases, non-existent. For the most part, infant skeletons fared the worst, while subadult (over 1 year to 18 years of age), and adult skeletons ranged from 1 percent to 70 percent complete. All burials were intact with only bioturbation (disturbance of soil by insects and animals) intrusions. Exceptional burials include Burial 50 of an adult lower leg, and Burial 76, which contained a complete adult female burial and several fragmented bones of an infant.

The following is an osteological description of the skeletal remains analyzed by Melanie Nichols and Dale Norton during the archeological recovery of the Head Cemetery. Biological determinations of sex for adults and developmental age at time of death are discussed below. A forthcoming report by Blanton and Associates on behalf of Luminant Mining Company will provide more comprehensive research results.

All skeletal materials collected in the field were analyzed for observable metric and non-metric traits. However, preservation at the site limited collection and sometimes destroyed landmark traits. In the case of nine burials, no osteological materials were observed *in situ* and only ceremonial samples were collected for reburial purposes (Burials 25, 29, 40, 42, 48, 63, 67, 90, 99). Seven burials exhibited such poor preservation that no characteristics were able to be recorded (Burials 9, 13, 14, 86, 97, 102, 111). These burials were presumed to be infants due to the dimensions of their respective burial containers. Therefore, sixteen sets of remains were excluded from the below discussion of developmental age based on skeletal maturity.

A total of 37 burials were determined to be of children between the ages of birth and less than one year, accounting for 36 percent of the cemetery assemblage (Table 3.3). Within a framework of developmental phases this population is termed infant. Age ranges for infants with observable osteological landmarks (n=21) ranged from 30 weeks prenatal to 10.5 months with a standard deviation of 4 months. Sex was not determined for infants.

Table 3.3 Estimated Infant Ages at Head Cemetery

Burial No.	**Estimated Skeletal Age**
7	30 weeks prenatal
78, 112	32 to 34 weeks prenatal
24, 27	34 to 38 weeks prenatal
8	38 weeks prenatal
65, 76B, 80, 82, 89, 108	Neonate
93	1.5 months +/- 2 months
66	2.5 months +/- 1 months

Burial No.	Estimated Skeletal Age
69	3 months +/- 1 months
54	7.5 months +/- 2months
49, 72	9 months +/- 3 months
56	9.5 months +/- 3months
2, 77	10.5 months +/- 3 months

Subadult skeletons (n=38) accounted for 34 percent of the Head Cemetery population (Table 3.4). Like infants, biological sex was not assessed for subadults. Skeletal ages ranged from 1 year with a standard deviation of 4 months to 14.5 years with a standard deviation of 36 months.

Table 3.4 Estimated Subadult Ages at Head Cemetery

Burial No.	Estimated Skeletal Age
4, 23, 83	1 year +/- 4 months
5, 55, 58, 106	1.5 years +/- 6 months
10, 20, 34, 36, 70, 79, 81, 98, 100	2 years +/- 8 months
22	2.5 years +/- 6 months
52	2.5 years +/- 8 months
15, 26	2.5 years +/- 1 year
62	3 years +/- 1 year
109, 113	3.5 years +/- 1 year
32, 57	4.5 years +/- 16 months
28	5.5 years +/- 16 months
44, 96	5.5 years +/- 2 years
51	6 years +/- 24 months
6, 95	6.5 years +/- 24 months
68	7.5 years +/- 2 years
64	8.5 years +/- 2 years
110	10.5 years +/- 2 years
45, 103	11.5 years +/- 30 months
43	12.5 years +/- 30 months
59	14.5 years +/- 36 months

Adult skeletal remains (n=39) accounted for 34 percent of the individuals interred in the Head Cemetery including the adult lower leg (Burial 50). Determination of

biological sex and age were attempted for all skeletal remains with the exception of Burial 50. Skeletal ages for adults fell between 15 years with a standard deviation of 3 years to 50 years and older. Sex could not be determined for a total of nine burials due to poor preservation. However, seven skeletons were estimated to be most likely female, 13 to be most likely male, four possibly female, and five possibly male (Table 3.5).

Table 3.5 Estimated Adult Ages and Sexes at Head Cemetery

Burial No.	**Estimated Age**	**Estimated Sex**
3	15 years +/- 3 years	?
73	16 to 20 years	M
104	16 to 20 years	?
92	16.5 years +/- 36 months	F?
105	17.5 years +/- 4 years	F
60	20 years +/- 3 years	F
11	20 to 25 years	M?
18	20 to 30 years	?
30	25 to 35 years	?
53	25 to 35 years	F
12, 47	25 to 35 years	M
17, 39	25 to 50 years	?
16, 85, 107	25 to 50 years	F
35, 76A	25 to 50 years	F?
1, 19, 21, 61, 84	25 to 50 years	M
101	25 to 50 years?	?
74	30 to 45 years	M
75	40 to 50 years	F
41, 87	50 years +	?
94	50 years +	F?
31, 33, 37, 46	50 years +	M
38, 71, 88, 91	50 years +	M?

In summary, skeletal materials analyzed at the Head Cemetery revealed the interred population to consist of roughly one third infants aged from premature to below the age of approximately one year, one third subadults between the ages of one year and 14.5 years, and one third adults between the ages of 15 years and older than 50 years.

Biological sex was assessed for adults only and consisted mainly of adult males (n=18, 46 percent), and females (n=11, 28 percent). A comparison of 19 individuals with known gender and age at time of death evidenced by tombstone inscriptions and archival data successfully matches with estimated sexes and ages based on osteological analysis (Table 3.6).

Table 3.6 Comparisons of Skeletal Estimations and Archival Data on Known Individuals at the Head Cemetery

Burial No.	**Skeletal Sex**	**Skeletal Age**	**Attributed Individual(s)**	**Age at Death**	**Gender from Archival Record**
73	M	16 to 20 years	Rufus B. Bullard	18 years	Male
53	F	20 to 35 years	=Susan Seale	23 years	Female
77	-	10.5 months +/- 3 months	F.G. Wilson	?	?
47	M	20 to 35 years	F.P. Wright	36	Male
107	F	25 to 50 years	Elenza Bird	33 years	Female
76A	F?	25 to 50 years	~ Lydia Head Rogers	30 years	F
49	-	9 months +/- 3	=James Oscar Lown	9 months	Male
45	-	11.5 years +/- 30 months	J.D. Bailey	11 years	Male
54	-	7.5 months +/- 2months	=Andrew Jackson Seale	9 months	Male
56	-	9.5 months +/- 3months	=L. Oscar Seale	10 months	Male
55	-	1.5 years +/- 6 months	=J. Walter Seale	1 year 6 months	Male
59	-	14.5 years +/- 36 months	=John T. Head	14 years	Male
65	-	Neonate	=James F.	Infant	Male
66	-	2.5 months +/- 1 months	=William A.	Infant	Male
75	F	40 to 50 years	~Effie Head King	41 years	F
71	M?	50 years +	=James Alfred Head	75 years	Male
88	M?	50 years +	=M. McCoy	About 59 years	Male?
108	-	Neonate	Preston Bird	38 days	Male
91	M?	50 years +	=Isiah Greer	55 years	Male

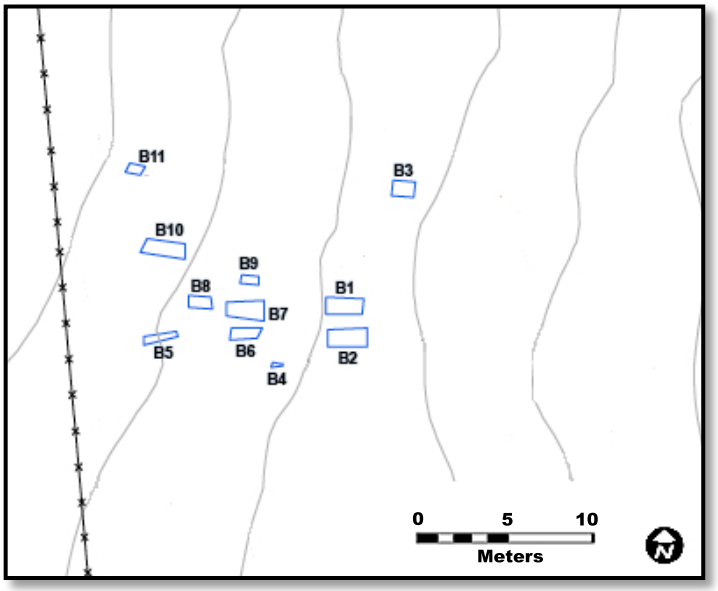
ADAMS CEMETERY (41RT367)

A total of 11 interments were identified during archeological investigations in a roughly 240 square meter area of the Adams Cemetery (Anderson et al. 2011). A brief description of the Adams Cemetery follows, including a description of the spatial organization of the interments, headstones and footstones, proposed interment dates, and osteological data. In addition to the community's history presented above, this brief overview helps to further contextualize the clothing and adornment artifacts.

Spatial Organization

The Adams Cemetery was located on a terrace above an unnamed tributary to Steele Creek among a secondary growth of trees and shrubs primarily consisting of juniper and live oak. Its overall organization was roughly rectangular, measuring approximately 12 meters north-south by approximately 20 meters east-west (Figure 3.5). The graves were generally evenly concentrated across the site. Just like the Head Cemetery, all of the interments were oriented on a rough east-west axis so that the head was resting in the west and the feet to the east in rows and clusters.

Figure 3.5 Adams Cemetery Interment Map.



Grave Markers

Only four graves had permanent headstones and/or footstones (n=6) and two identifiable individuals. The markers observed at Adams Cemetery consisted of commercially-carved marble and limestone, as well as hematitic sandstone. Professionally-carved headstones and footstones corresponded to the burial of Mary Frances Adams (Burial 1), first wife of Joseph Ross Adams, and also Joseph Ross Adams (Burial 2). Sandstone cobbles were recovered in the vicinity of Burials 6 and 7; however, no inscriptions were discernable. These stones may have served as markers for these burials as undressed fieldstones were the most common type of markers encountered in frontier Texas cemeteries (Jordan 1982: 43), but there is no conclusive evidence to confirm this possibility.

Interment Dates

Interments dated at Adams Cemetery from inscribed death dates range from 1882 (Burial 1) to 1888 (Burial 2) (Table 3.7). However, the cemetery may have been in use as early as 1860 with the purchase of the property by the Adams family, and may have occurred as late as 1905. The majority of burials, including Burials 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, and 10, likely took place sometime within this time frame. Temporally-sensitive grave goods, such as coffin hardware and personal effects, more narrowly dated three other burials. Burial 6 occurred after 1871 but also before 1905, while Burials 3 and 11 took place between 1900 and 1905 (Anderson et al. 2011). Unlike the Head Cemetery, which had three interment phases, the burials at the Adams Cemetery were fairly contemporaneous and far more limited in quantity.

Table 3.7 Dated Burials from Grave Markers at the Adams Cemetery

Burial	Name	Age	Birth	Death
1	Mary Francis	64 years	September 23, 1817	June 13, 1882
2	Joseph Ross	68 years	February 18, 1820	May 9, 1888

Osteological Data

Osteological data for the Adams Cemetery is scant due to extremely poor preservation. Out of the 11 individual burials, only Burials 1, 2, 5, 6, 7, 8, and 10 contained observable skeletal material. Thus, skeletal age and sex could only be assessed for a few of the burials (Table 3.8). Burial 1 contained the remains of the known individual Mary Frances Adams, female, aged 64 years, and Burial 2 contained the remains of the known individual Joseph Ross Adams, male, aged 68 years. However, no osteological analysis was available for these individuals (Anderson et al. 2011).

Table 3.8 Osteological Estimated Age and Sex at the Adams Cemetery

Burial No.	**Estimated Age**	**Estimated Sex**
5	Late teens to early 20s	n/a
6	19 to 35 years	M
8	3 years+	n/a

Concluding Remarks

The goal of this dissertation is to establish how clothing and adornment may be identified from mortuary remains. In addition, the implications of how dress was employed for individuals buried at the Head and Adams Cemeteries may also reflect wider trends as well as specific choices in the identities of this rural, central Texas community. In order to address these questions, the aim of this chapter was to provide a historical overview of Headsville, and to present the results of the field and lab research on both cemeteries. Results of excavations provided osteologically derived biological sex and age for many interments. Poor preservation hindered analysis in numerous cases; however, when possible, age was assessed for all skeletal remains and sex was assessed for adult burials. As will be demonstrated in Chapter 7, osteological analysis for sex and age was used a basis for establishing or confirming gender and age in unknown and known burials, respectively. Sex and age were then used as a basis for associating clothing remains with identity construction and expression along these lines of difference.

Age groupings defined by osteological development were utilized within the analysis of clothing, such as infant, subadult, and adult. This was done to enable the capability of correlating results from the Head and Adams Cemeteries with other historic cemeteries, which generally utilize this standard of bioanthropological metrics. While overall this framework was useful, a more subtle refinement of relative youth and age within the three, broad age categories furthers the interpretation of clothing patterns.

SUMMARY

The Head Cemetery contained a total of 114 interments and the Adams Cemetery totaled 11 interments, which were excavated by Atkins International between the years of 2009 and 2012 at the request of Luminant Mining Company. Previous investigations conducted by the author interpreted that burials in the Head Cemetery were undertaken in three broad interment intervals based on associated coffin trimmings and spatial organization dating from at least 1867 to 1870, 1870 to 1883, and 1883 to around 1900, while burials at the Adams Cemetery appear contemporaneous. With an established temporal chronology for the burials and interpreted relational burials, a more nuanced reading of recovered clothing and adornment items may be placed in a broader context of the social life of the Head and Adams Cemeteries.

Both cemeteries illustrate elements common to other rural, Southern cemeteries regardless of class or race (Crow 2004, Jordan 1982: 30-35). The spatial organization of the sites demonstrate linear groupings of north to south patterns oriented along an east to west axis delineated by both commercially-manufactured and locally-produced memorial markers. The close proximity or clustering of burials with the same surname on these markers demonstrate the practice of asserting familial associations in a growing mortuary industrial and consumer context. By 1869, the nearby town of Kosse had become the terminus for the Houston and Texas Central Railway, which drew in business from the one-time rural center of Eutaw, frequented by the Heads and likely other families (Panus

2013). At this time, the people of Headsville likely had increased market access, which is reflected in aspects of commercial material culture increasingly present in the coffin trimmings, but not clothing-related artifacts. Aspects of this continuity will be discussed further in Chapter 7.

The spatial and temporal organization of the Head Cemetery also suggests that the burial ground not only served members of the family and extended family, but also individuals related by a common bond of settlement in the vicinity. Although the nearby Ebenezer Cemetery adjacent to the church meeting house was established by at least 1876 with the interments of the Brooks and Owen families, mourners for those interred at the Head and Adams Cemeteries still chose to bury their dead separately. This may be due to a choice to maintain family unity even after death. This is most clearly evident in the stories passed down to Ethel Sparks. As illustrated through the different interment phases spread across the sites, it is likely that strong relational ties persuaded continued use of the cemeteries even though there were other options available.

Although it was not a "traditional" family cemetery, the interments at the Head Cemetery do point to a sense of community exercised by the mourners. While it was common practice in early, rural Texas to maintain a family plot (as with the Adams Cemetery), Head Cemetery also consisted of individuals who were essentially neighbors, such as the Birds, Baileys, Wrights, and Lowns. This perhaps demonstrates that through settlement in a relatively isolated area, non-kin related households developed alliances and networks, which extended beyond daily practices and influenced their decisions for what were seen as eternal resting places.

Chapter 4: History of Nineteenth-Century Dress

With the exception of burial container hardware, clothing remains are the most frequently recovered artifact category within historic burials. This chapter discusses commonly consulted sources for historic costume and provides an overview of historic apparel from 1850 to 1900 for women, men, infants, boys, and girls. Further elaboration is provided for each group by apparel, undergarments, shoes, and jewelry. The discussion begins with an evaluation of descriptive resources on historic clothing and concludes with an overview of historic clothing drawing from primary sources and also fashion literature dealing with this time period.

SOURCES ON DRESS

A common thread among research on historic clothing is the use of primary and documentary evidence for historic dress. Representations can be found in historic photographs, period catalogs, prescriptive literature, diaries, historic instructional books and manuals, museum collections, and more. Within my dissertation, I provide an overview of nineteenth century clothing for archaeologists built upon previous dress scholarship, as well as these period resources (Kidwell and Steele 1989, Prellwitz and Metcalf 1980, Rowold and Schlick 1983, Severa 1995, Severa and Horswill 1989). Although the bulk of this scholarship focuses on the dress norms of white, middle- to upper-class Americans, I sought to also include dress of the working class from diverse backgrounds (Bissonnette 2004, Brandt 1989, Brubacher 2002, Gordon 1987, Helvenston 1990, Knowles 2012, Marks 1996, Mills 1985, Shine 1988, Ulrich 1991). Primary historic resources consulted during this study include 66 clothing and general merchandise catalogs (Appendix A), 72 clothing periodicals (Appendix B), 11 instructional manuals on garment making (Appendix C), and 27 curated fashion and textile collections (Appendix D). A brief examination of the main sources follows.

The 1840s saw the introduction of photographic portraiture with the invention of the daguerreotype by Louis Daguerre of France (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 331). The popularity of portrait photography proliferated in the coming decades to include both the living and the dead. Portraits are an undeniable wealth of information regarding historic dress; however, more often than not, portraits are of one's finest dress, and do not often illustrate the daily dress of individuals, but a carefully crafted image (Gordon 2003, Severa 1995: 84). There is limited research to suggest that in most cases post-mortem photography commonly depicted nice, day dress, or Sunday dress, and corresponded to actual burial dress (Aldridge 2008). Burial in one's day or Sunday dress is supported by archaeological evidence from other period cemeteries (Feit and Trask 2013, Franklin in press, Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Norment et al. 2016, Rose 1985). With exception, burial gowns lain over day dress and occupational dress (e.g. soldier, clergy) were occasionally seen. In addition, those operating on the peripheries of acceptable society were usually photographed as they died (e.g. criminals), and not afforded the privilege to be dressed for the photographer (Aldridge 2008). Yet, there is a difference between the popular fashion of dress, and *dress*, which was more practically employed for people who were not afforded such leisure, latitude, or inclination. Documentary photography, or photography used to chronicle events or actions, more often catches candid moments. Within this type of photography, individuals may be dressed for an activity or pursuit, and this may illustrate differing dress than that of portraiture (Adams-Graf 1995, Brubacher 2002).

Another indispensable line of evidence is that of historic catalogs and magazines. The advent of women's magazines with current fashions began with Godey's Lady's Book in 1830 and was followed by Peterson's Magazine in 1842 (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 327). These magazines provided a wealth of proposed styles laden with references to the latest fashions (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 330). However, it wasn't until decades later that fashions became available by pattern or ready-to-wear. As early as 1863,

catalogs on specific types of clothing were available with Charles Stokes and Company's *Illustrated Almanac of Fashion* detailing both men's and military fashions for the Union. Aaron Montgomery Ward was the first to target rural areas as well with his dry goods mail-order catalog introduced in 1872 (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 382). This catalog not only provided ready-to-wear dress items, but also other sundries necessary for the creation of fashionable styles at home. Sears, Roebuck and Company would follow suit relatively late in the nineteenth century and issue their first mail-order catalog in 1893 (Tortora and Eubank 2011). However, it should be noted that while most men had the option of ready-made clothing as early as the 1870s, this was not available for most women's and children's clothing into the 1890s (Schorman 1998). Consequently, over-reliance on representations of ready-to-wear attire from period catalogs should be cautioned as most women's and children's garments were still custom-made.

Catalogs might also be closely aligned with prescriptive literature instructing its readers as to the health or hazards of particular types of dress. As the nineteenth century progressed with industrial, scientific, and medical discoveries, there came a great scrutiny over fashions and traditions particularly aimed at women and children. Dress reform, as part of the wider domestic reform movement, was heralded as a solution to illness and disease, and some of the physical constraints of contemporary fashions. Dress reformers targeted mothers, in particular, through the counsel of "authoritative" childcare guides in women's magazines and mail order catalogues. Although individuals might not necessarily subscribe to the recommendations of reforms, these discussions are enlightening as to the practices and advices given their attention to dress. Literature and catalogs might be incorporated into one as was the case with Dr. Jaeger's Sanitary Woolen System Company, which published its eighteenth edition of its illustrated catalogue and price list by the year 1901.

Textile, costume, and fashion collections curated by museums, historical societies, and universities also provide unparalleled representations of nineteenth-century

dress. High fashion, exquisite gowns, and historically significant attire are most often preserved; however, there is an increasing movement to accept day-wear outfits, work clothes, and altered garments into collections (Baumgarten 1998). Extant examples provide an opportunity to examine the intricate construction, fastening details, wear, and textiles of clothing in the past. Two exceptional studies conducted from existing textile collections on Texas women's fashion were conducted by Betty Mills (1984) in the *Calico Chronicles* and Paula Mitchell Marks (1996) in *Hands to the Spindle*. Mills' research is especially relevant as she examines a nineteenth-century costume collection donated to Texas Tech University of everyday fashions and daily clothes. Marks focuses on the role of women in producing textiles and clothing during nineteenth-century Texas. This engagement with surviving clothing speaks not only to the dress worn by individuals, but also a past life lived out from day to day in the garments themselves (Baumgarten 1998).

AN OVERVIEW OF FASHIONS FROM 1850 TO 1900

Although Americans were politically independent of Europe, they continued to follow fashions in dress that originated abroad (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 330). This is a testament to the adherence to social conventions of acceptable dress seen in the middle- and upper-classes; however, this is not to say that exceptions did not exist as fashions may have been conveniently or deliberately flouted, and even neglected by necessity by some. While the fashions presented here mostly center around the most popular dress styles from the last half of the nineteenth century, it is important to note that members of the Headsville community were most likely buried in the clothes that they once wore in life. The life reflected in these clothes is sometimes work, daily life, or one's best attire, for rural, farming homesteaders. There is considerable overlap between the constituents of male clothing discussed within this chapter, and the inferred clothing presented later in this dissertation, but it is clear that there are divergences from the popular fashion history

of middle- and upper-class America. This is especially evident for female clothing in particular. Therefore, not all undergarments, clothing styles, jewelry, or shoes discussed within this chapter were actually identified using the artifacts from the Head and Adams Cemeteries. However, this overview of nineteenth-century clothing serves to provide a context for period clothing as it both compares and contrasts to how social expectations and articulations of dress may have differed in the community of Headsville.

Descriptions and classifications of dress follow using standard terminology and imagery established by a *Survey of Historic Costume* by Phyllis C. Tortora and Keith Eubank (2011) and *Victorian Fashions for Women and Children: Society's Impact on Dress* by Linda Setnik (2012). Tortora and Eubank provide primary references for widely-accepted terminology and dress descriptions related to apparel, while Setnik provides imagery and descriptions of dress. Other sources include *Dressed for the Photographer* by Joan Severa (1995), and *American Victorian Costume in Early Photographs* by Priscilla Harris Dalrymple (1991).

A comprehensive guide to nineteenth-century dress is simply not feasible due to the limitless variations available to seamstresses, *modistes*, dressmakers, tailors, and homemakers (see Prellwitz and Metcalf 1980). The multiplicity of potential creativity was furthered by the advent of the sewing machine in 1846; however, it was not generally in use in Texas until after the Civil War (Mills 1984: 19). As women's and children's clothing was still domestically-made until the 1890s, this afforded many at-home textile and clothing producers with a more expedient task. The following presents the most popular historic costumes, as well as elements of frontier clothing, discussed by gender, then age, according to apparel, undergarments, shoes, and jewelry and adornment from the time period of 1850 to 1900.

WOMEN'S DRESS: 1850 TO 1900

Apparel

The beginning of the last half of the nineteenth century saw the end of the Romantic Era. Women of the time period primarily wore dresses of a matching bodice and skirt. In silhouette, the skirt was full yet subdued as it gathered from the waist and reached to the floor. Sleeve shaping was also full and emphasized the lower arm as it sometimes draped from the shoulders (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 335-340). Dresses could be one-piece or two-pieces. A type of one-piece dress known as a "round dress," a term indicating a dress with joined bodice and skirt without a train, was considered rather timeless and continued to be seen for several decades on the frontier as it mirrored the fashions of the time but was also suitable for work and daily wear in rural areas (Mills 1984: 31). Two-piece dresses, consisting of a jacket and detached skirt, were also worn and may have been favored by Texas frontier women as early as the 1830s (Mills 1984: 26). Two-pieces also became increasingly popular into the 1860s when the bodice or jacket ended at the anatomical waist, and closed with hooks, buttons, or laces down the front or back (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 361). Examples of this style of women's dress could be seen in most urban areas, as well as more rural areas. A more pragmatic approach might also have been adopted for working women with plain, loose blouses, or jacket, and a gathered skirt (Mills 1984: 26), The functional "short gown" (not to be confused with infant's clothing), consisting of a homespun dress over a petticoat, might also have made its way with westward pioneers during the settlement of Texas (Kidwell 1987, Mills 1984: 26).

As the 1850s progressed, women's skirts became wider and fuller and soon needed the structure of a hoop to maintain a voluminous shape. This became known as the Crinoline Period in women's dress owing to structured crinoline underskirts (Figure 4.1). While the silhouette was full, round, and wide in the 1850s, it became flatter in the

front and ample in the rear into the 1860s. The waist also became tighter, and in some cases, was also raised slightly (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 361-367).

Figure 4.1 1857 Caricature cutaway of hoop skirt from 1857 *Punch* magazine.

Necklines and sleeves also underwent a reshaping. Rather than sleeves being off the shoulder for both day and evening wear, high collars became more fashionable. Removable and washable collars and cuffs for daytime dress aided in the longevity of a particular outfit. Open sleeves could be worn with detachable lace or muslin undersleeves in bell-shaped or pagoda-type styles (Tortora and Eubank 2011). Separate blouses worn with skirts became increasingly popular into the 1860s. Not only did this prolong the wearability of a skirt after its more wear-prone bodice was worn through, it also provided more variability in outfits during the period marred by the Civil War. Blouses typically had high necks and closed sleeves and buttoned up the front to the waist (Figure 4.2) (Tortora and Eubank 2011).

Figure 4.2. Women's blouse with button closure (McLennan 1910: 219).

Well-liked fabrics for daytime dress included cotton, linen, calico, wool and homespun. However, trimmings were kept to a minimum. Dress lining extended at least halfway up the garment or was limited to the hem to prevent soiling. Decorative braiding at the hem also helped prevent fraying. Some skirts were left undecorated or simply ornamented (Tortora and Eubank 2011).

The year 1870 saw the end of the Crinoline Period and the introduction of bustles. Bustles would mark women's clothing until the end of the century. Bustles created a pronounced, artificial back fullness at the skirt waist that was heavy and long, and similarly supported by an underlying structure as had been seen with crinoline and hoop skirts (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 385-396). The Bustle Period can be roughly bracketed into three time periods according to the widespread silhouettes of the bustle and train. From around 1870 to around 1878, a full bustle was created merely by the manipulation of abundant fabrics at the back of the skirt. The drapery and hang of the skirt were emphasized in creating the bustle and was sometimes trained with a shallow swath (Tortora and Eubank 2011). Commonly accompanying this early type of bustle were

fitted jackets with basques extending below the natural waist, which formed a type of overskirt appearance. Necklines were high and closed with either square or v-shaped inserts filled with decorative lace.

As early as 1875 the bustle size diminished with the growing popularity of a cuirass bodice, a long jacket ending in a point in the front and fitting smoothly over the hips. These bodices were similarly close-fitted, as with the previous bustle time period. They often exhibited three-quarter length coat sleeves ending in a deep cuff. Skirts were now deeply trained with a back portion of the skirt trailing behind the wearer and held close to the knees by front ties, which restricted women's movements to small steps. This effect concentrated decorations low on the skirt (Tortora and Eubank 2011).

By the early 1880s the pronunciation of the bustle had returned. Large and rigid shelf-like bustles were more structured and projecting, which required the addition of under appliances to create the admired silhouette. As an alternative to bustled dresses, the long, informal, tea gown was introduced in 1877. It was loose-fitting, and it was intended to be worn without a corset; however, upon its introduction, the upper-class considered it only suitable for wear at home or among friends and not permissible for street attire. Comparably, a lady's wrapper was also intended for wear at home and for morning attire but may have been worn as early as the 1830s in Texas (Mills 1985: 59). Similarly, wrappers were relatively loose-fitting gowns, which fastened down the front to the waist along an internal bodice and may have exposed the underskirts beneath (Figure 4.3). They were also viewed as at home attire and not considered suitable for receiving guests unless unannounced by the upper-classes (Tortora and Eubank 2011). Moreover, Mother Hubbard's, a long, loose-fitting, shapeless dress also became increasingly popular and acceptable for public viewing over the course of the last half of the century. However, owing to their versatility and freedom of movement, these styles of gowns may have been favored by many working and rural women long before their more general social

acceptability. Wrappers and Mother Hubbard gowns could even be considered one's dress clothing as some surviving studio portraits illustrate (Mills 1984: 67, Severa 1995).

Figure 4.3 Ladies' wrappers and tea gowns were considered casual wear for women as illustrated in 1888 Fox and Kelly's Fashion Catalogue.

By 1890, skirts began to lose their back fullness as highly-structured bustles became less common. An hourglass shape with a bell-shaped skirt was increasingly becoming the favored silhouette. Skirts were gored and lined for fullness to create the wide shape, but hoops were no longer employed as they had been in the 1850s. Skirts also brushed the floor or were raised three to four inches for practical purposes, such as in day attire (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 397-401).

Shirtwaists, sometimes shortened to waists, were a separate blouse now commonly worn with skirts. Waists ranged from blouses with pronounced sleeve caps in the leg-of-mutton style to tailored men's styles embroidered with lace and frills. Another influence of men's wear was the use of a neck tie with shirtwaists. Similarly, tailor-mades were matching jackets and skirts worn with a blouse either tailored in men's styles or

elaborately ruffled or laced. Waists were among the first products for women within the ready-to-wear industry (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 397-401).

Women typically did not wear bifurcated outer garments but wore dresses of one- to two-pieces. While silhouette and fullness varied with the waxing and waning popularities and criticisms of hoop skirts and bustles, women's clothing did not change dramatically until the introduction of a bloomer suit, which was primarily adopted by suffragettes sporting loose-fitting bloomers under a shortened skirt for their greater maneuverability. This outfit would later be adapted for sportswear.

Undergarments

Women's undergarments of the nineteenth century were complex and multi-layered outfits by themselves. Underclothes were considered by some to be burdensome and were most often the target for dress reformers of the domestic reform movement. A lady's typical underclothes consisted of a corset, corset cover, chemise, drawers, petticoats or underskirts, stockings, and sometimes various underlying structures, such as a hoop or bustle support (Figure 4.4).

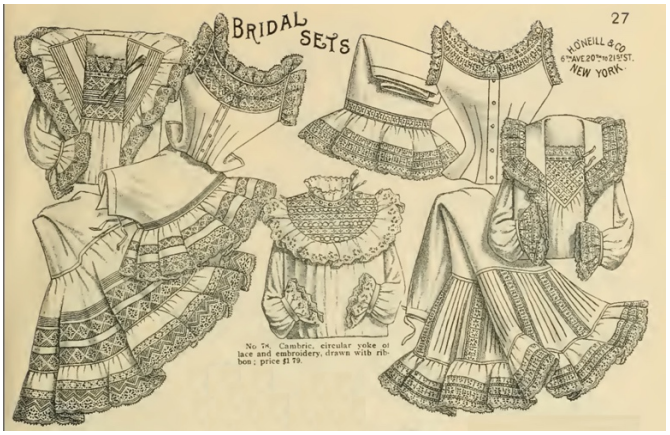


Figure 4.4 Bridal sets from the 1898 H. O'Neil and Company Catalogue illustrating the myriad undergarments worn by women during the mid to late nineteenth century.

While petticoats were often criticized for the multiple layers needed in order to achieve a given fashionable silhouette, corsets were commonly condemned for their constricting and unhealthy binding. Whereas traditional corsets remained largely unchanged until around 1890 with the advent of open bust corsets, there were a number of corset alternatives introduced with new attention to health and less constriction in the preceding years. Traditional corsets for adult women were fully or partially boned with baleen, steel or cane, sometimes with shoulder straps to supposedly ease the burden of multiple layers of clothing placed on the "delicate" waist of women (Setnik 2012: 12, Tortora and Eubank 2011: 385). In order to alleviate some concerns, the Reform Corset for children and adults was introduced in 1875. This corset was also boned or corded but only around the waist and was allegedly looser. The bust and shoulders were simply covered with fabric (Setnik 2012: 13). Other reform corsets would be introduced, sometimes under the name of "supports" rather than corsets, which is telling of the underlying belief that corsets offered much needed support and posture assistance to its wearers. Corset covers, as the name implies, were used to cover and protect a corset from wear and soiling. They also produced a smooth silhouette above hook and eye and lace closures.

Chemises, similar now to what would be known as a slip, were worn underneath a corset. Chemises were long one-piece gowns typically with scoop necks and short sleeves (Setnik 2012: 15). Most reached below the knees. More decorative chemises exhibited trimmings at neck and sleeve with ornamental tucks (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 386) This garment was likely meant to slip over the head because very few illustrate button closures down the front.

Before 1800 all legs were hidden from view, and in fact rarely even referred to as the lower limbs because it was considered vulgar (Setnik 2012: 32). Women and children employed drawers, or pantalettes as they were earlier known. This was the sole bifurcated garment available and acceptable for women of the time. Drawers were typically knee

length or longer with tie closures at the waist, available with open-crotch for women, but mostly closed for children. This purportedly eased the process in which one relieved oneself with the many layers of garments of the time (Setnik 2012: 15).

As early as 1859 a new garment was introduced known as the combination, or a union suit (Figure 4.5). Yet, it would not be until after 1870 that it became widely popular. A combination did just that: it combined chemise and drawers into a single piece (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 386). Combinations were seen as healthful as they regulated the body temperature and also provided a relative simplicity to underclothes. Following the popularity of this garment, a combination corset cover and petticoat was also marketed (Setnik 2012: 16).

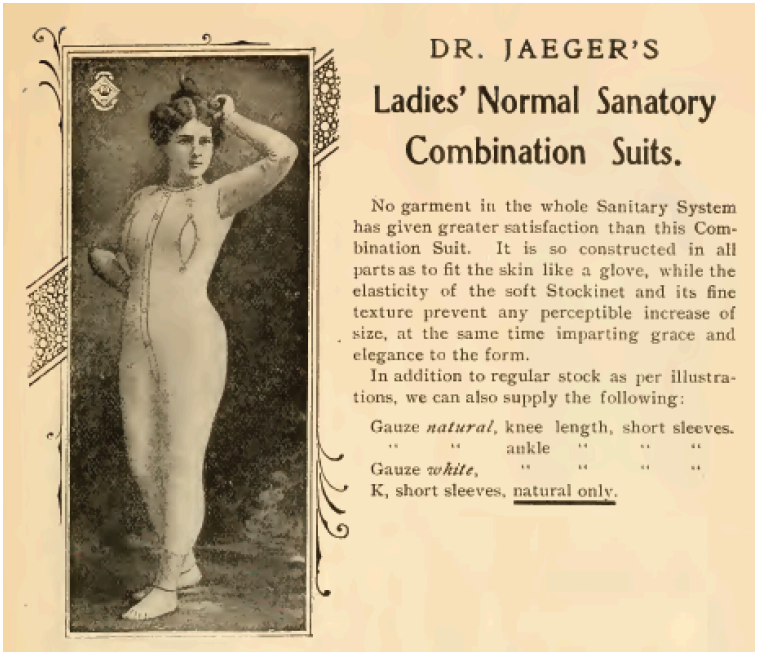


Figure 4.5 A reform combination, or union, suit advertised in Dr. Jaeger's Sanitary Woolen Systems Illustrated Catalogue and Price List of 1901.

Shoes

Into the 1850s, ladies' shoes were generally slippers or boots. Slippers had a square toe with a flat heel while boots were to the ankle with a low heel and either laced

or buttoned down the center or paired with an elastic gusset inset along the side (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 390). By the 1870s, shoes and boots with pointed toes and medium high heels became more fashionable. Boots might be cut to the lower calf and closed with laces (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 390). Ladies shoe profiles underwent yet another shift around 1890 when toes became slightly rounded with medium high heels. Boots still buttoned or laced to close (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 400).

Jewelry and Adornment

In the decade preceding the last half of the nineteenth century, ladies most popular jewelry items were gold chain lockets, crosses, brooches, bracelets, armlets, and drop earrings (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 349). Bracelets, earrings, necklaces, and brooches would still remain popular in the next decade, but materials came to include coral, cameos, human hair, cabochon stones, and colored glass and jet (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 364). Black chokers would also become popular in the late 1860s and remain so into the next decade (Setnik 2012: 55, 62). During the 1870s, the wearing of jewelry increased dramatically for women. Thick-chained necklaces with sizeable pendants, large beads, matching bangle or mesh bracelets, brooches, bar pins, rings and long, dangling earrings were well-accepted items of adornment (Setnik 2012: 33). Later, hair ornaments of tortoise shell and ivory would become increasingly popular, as were ball and hoop earrings, bracelets, necklaces, and brooches. An especially prominent item of jewelry was the pocket watch attached to a chain of metal, which usually hung from the bodice or was concealed within a pocket (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 396, 401). Watches were reserved exclusively for adults. (Setnik 2012: 33).

MEN'S DRESS: 1850 TO 1900

Apparel

Men's historic costume leading into the nineteenth century had been exceedingly elaborate; however, as the century progressed it simplified somewhat with more subdued

ornamentation and colors (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 340). A typical men's wear ensemble included a coat, neckware, waistcoast (vest), shirt, and trousers. The name "trousers" was rather new as it was slowly replacing pantaloons in usage.

Several different styles of coats were popularly offered during the 1850s. These included the frock coat, sack jacket, and pea jacket or reefer (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 132). The frock coat fitted through the torso with a narrow skirt, which elongated after 1855, and in 1860s the waistline dropped and was less defined (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 370). The very popular sack jacket was a loose-fitting coat with no waistline. The front was straight with center vents in back and sleeves without cuffs. Small collars and short lapels were also a hallmark of a sack jacket. After the 1870s, sack jackets were either single- or double-breasted. This distinctive form would become the forerunner of today's modern sport coat (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 223). Pea jackets were also loose fitted coats but were double-breasted with side vents and small collars. The versatility of the pea jacket also allowed it to be worn as an overcoat (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 371).

Frock coats remained popular until the late 1890s, when morning coats became more *en vogue*. Sack coats also continued to be a common staple. However, coat styles did change in some detailing as coats began to be buttoned higher in the 1870s and 1880s (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 401). A new style was also introduced in men's wear that would soon transfer to women's clothing: the Norfolk Jacket. This was a belted, hip-length coat with two box pleats on front and back from shoulder to hem (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 218).

Often paired or complimented to a suit coat was a waistcoat, in which case the coat might be worn open (Figure 4.6). By the 1850s one or more waistcoats were sometimes worn. They were generally sleeveless with straight standing collars or a small rolled collar with notching at the lapel. The lapel might extend to the second or third button along the centerline. Common to all waistcoats was a button closure, either single-

or double-breasted (Tortora and Eubank 2011). During the period from 1850 until around 1870, waistcoats ended above the natural waist and lapels widened over time.

Figure 4.6 Portrait of Rufus B. Hunt, resident of Headsville, at approximately 30 years of age in 1882 (findagrave.com). He wears a single-breasted, sack coat with notched lapel, white undershirt, and vest.

Part of this ensemble was the shirt and neckware, much like today's suit. Prior to the 1850s, shirts were commonly decorated with tucks, insets, and ruffles with deep collars, but this became less common with time (Tortora and Eubank 2011) (Figure 4.7). At about the same time, whereas shirts were more popularly worn with stocks and cravats, ties began replacing stocks as neckware (Tortora and Eubank 2011). In the 1870s shirt collars were standing and stiff, and removable starched collars and cuffs became available. Common by the 1880s were folded over collars with plain, unpleated shirt fronts. Bow ties and longer knotted neckties also became more fashionable (Tortora and

Eubank 2010: 402). By the 1890s, standing, stiff collars again became more standard, but now reached heights up to three inches with plain, pleated shirt fronts (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 403). Shirts could be fully or partially buttoned down the front and had either button or stud collar and cuff closure options.

Figure 4.7 Three-button shirt pattern from 1910 Prison Department Industries, Tenth Edition Catalogue, Albany, New York.

Pants were perhaps the most utilitarian part of men's attire, and particular terminology regarding them designated specific activities. For instance, breeches were recommended as sportswear and trousers as daily wear (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 341). Prior to 1850, fly fronts had replaced fall closures as the predominant type of fastening, and this remains to this day. Trousers were typically close fitting with an ankle strap or slit, which might lace to fit the ankle in order to exaggerate the slimness of the pant leg. However, by the 1850s, ankle straps were no longer popular, but a close fit was still predominantly sold (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 372). Variations also occurred with the

so-called peg-top, which was wider at top and narrowed to ankle, and knickerbockers for sports with loose legs belted at knee for fit adjustment. After 1860 pant legs widened, but they would remain relatively straight and narrow until the end of the century (Tortora and Eubank 2011).

Although trousers were now fitted with fly closures, the fit of the pants could still be problematic. The first cinch buckles for fit adjustment were introduced in the 1850s, and these were commonly found on the back of the pants (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 358). Suspenders were also common with button attachments at the waist or alternatively a tab and buckle at the back of the waistband (Tortora and Eubank 2011).

Perhaps most important to the study of historic daily wear is the introduction of Levi's Jeans in the 1850s. Levi marketed his pants towards farmers, cowboys, and laborers for the durability and ruggedness owing to the denim construction. Important landmarks for Levi's Jeans include the addition of rivets in 1873, leather patch in 1886, belt loops in 1922, red tab in 1936, concealed back pocket rivets in 1937, and zippers in 1954 (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 356).

Undergarments

Men's undergarments changed very little over the course of the last half of the nineteenth century. Underclothes consisted of cotton or linen underdrawers, of either a long or short variety, and an undervest (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 352). At the same time that combination suits became popular for women in the 1870s, they were also marketed to men. Union suits, as they would be familiarly called, were woven from cotton or wool. However, drawers were still worn, especially in warmer climates. Drawers button-closed in the front and commonly had a drawstring at the back. Similarly, undervests and undershirts might be made of wool or cotton extending to the hip with variable sleeves buttoning in the front (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 403).

Shoes

Remarkably, men's shoes also exhibited very little change from 1850 to 1900 (Figure 4.8). Prior to this, square toes and a low heel were most prominent. In the 1830s, front lace ups were popular with three or four eyelets. Boots were thought to be ubiquitous for riding, but rubber soles for other sports shoes were first used in 1832 (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 122). Long boots became more common from around 1850 to 1869. Other shoes also might be laced, and short boots might be gusseted at the sides with elastic, button, or lace closures (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 132). Short or long gaiters might also be used as the ease of putting on gaiters had increased with the introduction of elastic gaiters in the 1840s (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 122). By the 1870s, lace-up patent leather for day or dress were now acceptable, as were oxfords (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 143). Throughout this time period, stockings might be worn with shoes knitted of cotton, silk, or wool.

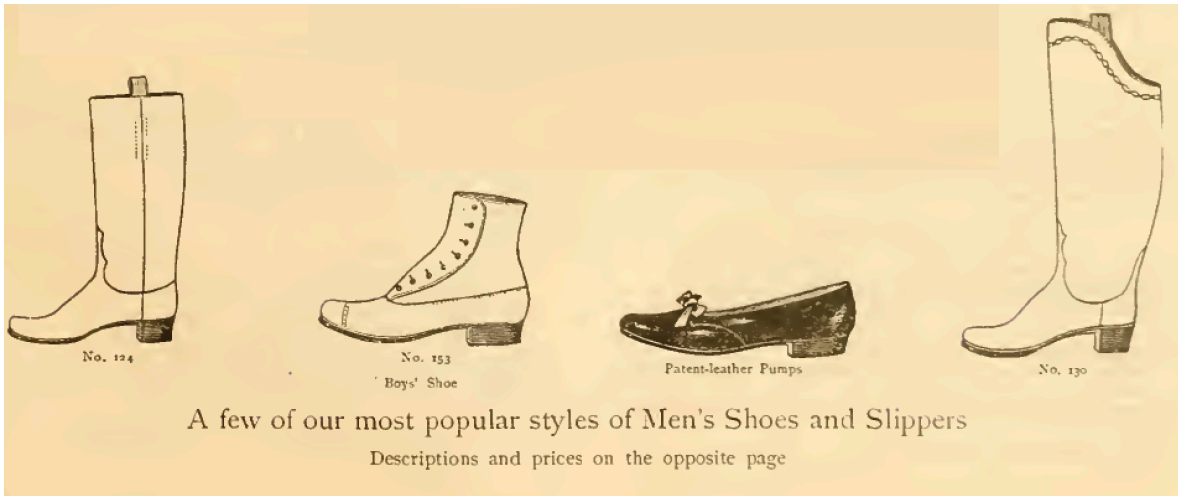


Figure 4.8 Popular men's shoe styles from 1888 John Wanamaker Catalogue.

Jewelry and Adornment

Into the 1850s, men commonly adorned themselves with cravat pins, brooches, jeweled buttons and studs, and watches with possibly elaborate watch chains (Tortora and

Eubank 2010: 343). By 1870, this had changed very little. Commonly accepted types of jewelry still included watches and watch chains, tie pins, rings, and ornamental buttons and studs (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 372). However, after this time jewelry was considered less masculine with the exceptions of tie pins, watches, shirt studs, and cuff links (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 143).

INFANT'S AND CHILDREN'S DRESS: 1850 TO 1900

Apparel

Infants, like adults, were subjected to extravagances in clothing. Newborn children of both sexes primarily wore one-piece dresses of white linen, wool, or cotton to an excessive length. Long slips, as they were known, extended well past the ankles of babies. Long slips were most commonly embroidered but could be laced, pleated, tucked, or the like, and very loosely followed the adult fashions of the time (Figure 4.9). Similar to what somewhat older children wore, this style of dress was loose fitting, commonly of a yoke style with no waist. Long slips might have various closures but were most often tied along the back. As children aged to around 6 months, it was recommended that they begin wearing short slips. This corresponds to the approximate age in which some babies begin to crawl. As their name implies, short slips facilitated this with a shorter, ankle-length skirt, which would provide ease of movement as a child began to toddle. Short slips were almost identical to long slips save the length and button closure along the back. Short slips might be worn up to the age of six years, but by the 1890s, short slips of darker colors were available for children up to the age of nine years (Setnik 2012: 19).

Figure 4.9 Mary Catherine Scott Hunt and her children Maude, Walter, Lena, Cora, and Paul, residents of Headsville, are pictured here around 1893. The three girls wear short dresses, while the oldest boy sports a sack coat, and the infant boy wears a long gown.

At a parent's discretion and perhaps at child's insistence, children might be dressed in more gender-specific clothing as young as the age of two years or even as old as nine years. Boys and girls were dressed remarkably alike until boys were breeched, or otherwise began to wear pants. The following is a discussion of gender-specific clothing for both boys and girls until adulthood.

When it was considered age-appropriate to breech a boy, instead of replicating their father's attire, a boy could be dressed in an array of outfits. One such outfit included a skeleton suit. Skeleton suits were still considered masculine yet more comfortable as a

snug jacket buttoned to a pair of pants, which was thought to less constrict the waist. These suits were paired with an open-collared shirt, which also left the neck unimpeded (Setnik 2012: 134). This style lingered into the 1870s.

Boys transitioning from short dresses could still be clothed in skirts. Popularized by Queen Victoria in the 1880s were costumes for boys known as kilt suits taken after the Scottish kilt. Kilt suits either consisted of a bodice and skirt or jacket, blouse, and skirt. This type of suit was commonly available until the age of four years, but even as old as eight years. Other skirt outfits for boys also became popular towards the turn of the century, and this appeared to be suitable for even older boys, such as the sailor suit (Figure 4.10). Sailor suits could be worn with skirts, short pants, or even trousers with a flat, square-collared blouse and v-shaped neck opening (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 357).

Figure 4.10 Boys suits and kilts from 1895 Jordan, Marsh and Company Price List.

Even prior to kilt suits becoming popular, short pants were employed for younger boys. Short pant outfits were similar to the dress of adult men with the exception of the length of the pants. Shorts pants ended just below the knee, while the rest of the leg was covered with a stocking. As boys got older, they could also wear long pants or trousers in an imitation of adult male costume. Adolescent males as young as nine years old, but later in time, more often around 12 or 14 years old, could wear trousers in children's sizes.

A popular fad during the late 1880s and 1890s was a flamboyant style known as "Little Lord Fauntleroy." It featured a fancy white shirt, short jacket, and an exceptionally large bow, paired either with skirts or knickers. Accompanying hairstyles were usually feminine ringlets surrounding the face, but this style was curiously reserved for boys (Setnik 2012: 144).

Girls' styles followed differing shifts in age and prevailing fashions than that of boys. The 1850s, late 1870s, 1880s, and early 1890s followed closely the styles of adult females, while the other periods up until the turn of the century were slightly more child-specific in nature (Setnik 2012: 27). Major distinctions that would differentiate young female from adult female clothing would remain, such as one-piece construction, lack of a delineated waist, shorter length of skirts, visible drawers and stockings, and lack of front buttons. Buttoning along the back required aid to dress, which emphasized a juvenile status through dependence (Setnik 2012: 28). As girls matured, their skirts would lengthen, and their styles mimicked more and more that of adult women (Figure 4.11). Generally, misses' (older girls) costumes differed from that of younger girls by the visual appearance of more fullness, more definition and ornamentation, and greater length (but less than adults). This would continue until around the age of 16 when skirts had gradually lengthened to around two inches above the ankle (Tortora and Eubank 2010: 370).

Figure 4.11 Varying misses' dress lengths as illustrated in 1898 H. O'Neil and Company Catalogue.

In the 1850s, girls' and misses' dresses were similar to women but shorter with low necklines and short sleeves. Dresses were worn with white, lace-trimmed drawers or leglets. Leglets were half-pantalettes tied around leg and were worn under clothing into the 1870s (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 361). Within the next decade, the trimmings of drawers would become more and more visibly prominent (Setnik 2012: 32). As the silhouette of adult women's skirts became large and round through the support of a structured hoop in the 1850s, some older girls also wore hoops of a shorter length to imitate the style of the time.

Into the 1870s, the silhouette of girls' clothes closely followed that of prevalent adult female fashions, such as the bustle, but was still shorter in length. By about 1880, when the cuirass bodice was in style, girls' dresses were cut straight from the shoulder to

hem with a belt and a dropped waistline approaching the knee (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 403). This left the waist unconstricted but still displayed somewhat of a defined waistline. When bustles enlarged yet again, girls might also wear bustles, or straight dresses might be accented by a belt tied in an overly large bow in the rear to mimic the drapery and volume of a bustle. Other popular styles for girls included Russian blouses, Scotch plaid costumes, smocked dresses, pinafores, and sailor dresses.

Undergarments

Undergarments, like clothes, were also gender-neutral for the youngest of children and later almost identically mimicked the corresponding undergarments of their adult counterparts. With exception, differing items of supposed support, similar to corsets, were suggested for children. This was especially true in the case of young girls, who as young women, would be expected to maintain the popular narrow waists of the late nineteenth century, if not for appearances sake, but also purportedly for their own well-being as corsets supposedly offered incomparable support and posture even if tight-lacing seemed to contradict this. In this manner, corsets for younger children went by the name "waists," perhaps as an effort to shake the dubious reputation of the corset or to brand a new product (Figure 4.12).

Figure 4.12 Boy's waists advertised in 1895 Jordan, Marsh and Company Price List.

Waists for children were constructed of soft, pliable cotton or jean and resembled a vest which buttoned in the back (Setnik 2012: 11). The alleged benefits of waists were the early promotion of straight, symmetrical posture, and to shift the pressure of layers of clothing onto the shoulder and away from what was believed to be the sensitive waist. To further aid in protecting the midsection, some "waists" had a double row of buttons below the waist to attach drawers, petticoats, and even stockings (Setnick 2012:11). Suspenders might also be employed.

Boys might continue to wear various types of underlying supports and suspensories into adulthood, but girls faced the potential of lifelong dependence on some form of corset. Around the ages of four to seven years, girls might begin to wear more substantial corsets. These corsets contained multiple rows of stiff, vertical cording with front buttons and back laces. This type of intermediate corset could sometimes be worn as late as 16 years of age. However, adult corsetry could also be worn by girls at earlier ages. Catalogs also offered partially- or fully-boned corsets in misses' sizes at age 12 with baleen and steel stays (Setnik 2012: 12). By the 1870s, as dress reform was targeting both the early and ongoing use of corsets among girls and women, reform corsets were likewise introduced for girls and misses (Setnik 2012: 13). The option of shoulder straps was also available, still holding to the convention that even though the waist might be severally restrained, some pressure was supposedly alleviated through the shoulders.

There were several exceptions to the general continuity between girls and women's undergarments. Corset covers, later to be known as camisoles for women, were known as underwaists for girls (Setnik 2012: 14). This is likely owing to the fact that waists were a neutral-sounding precursor to the use of the corset. Like adult women, girls also wore chemises and drawers, but owing to the fact that their skirts were shorter, girls' drawers were often bifurcated and not gusseted to prevent accidental exposure and maintain even body temperature. This was perceived as masculine, but any concern for this must have either been minimal or was considered of little consequence as by the

1870s the combination, or panted underclothes, were available to all sexes in juvenile and adult sizes (Setnik 2012: 15, 32).

Shoes

Children's footwear more or less changed very little over the last 50 years of the nineteenth century but did echo the styles of adults. Children of all sexes wore ankle high boots sometimes with scallops, slippers, and Mary Janes. However, slippers were more often donned by girls, while Mary Janes were believed to provide excellent support for growing ankles due to the small strap across the top. Shoes were worn with stockings of white cotton, and later striped or plain-colored stockings (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 405).

Jewelry and Adornment

Like children's clothing, jewelry and adornment were often less elaborate than that worn by adults. During the 1860s, photographic evidence demonstrates that adornment for both children and adults was less common than in other periods but still mirrored that of their adult counterparts (Setnik 2012: 33). While the wearing of jewelry dramatically increased during the 1870s and 1890s for adult women, most often children still wore scarcer amounts (Setnik 2012: 34). It was in the 1880s that children were more extravagantly bejeweled. Children might be given ornaments of rings, bracelets, bar pins, earrings, cuff pins, and necklaces of chains, lockets, or beaded chokers (Setnik 2012: 33, 63). Coral was an especially prized material for jewelry and teething rings because it was thought to bring good fortune (Tortora and Eubank 2011: 405).

CONCLUSIONS

The preceding overview of historic costume for men, women, and children from 1850 to 1900 provides the broad strokes from which to interpret archaeological remains of clothing. However, clothing primarily consists of textiles, and fabrics and fibers are not often recovered within archeological contexts. What is most often observed are the

items used to variously fasten, close, and decorate pieces of dress. Artifacts, such as buttons, safety pins, and buckles, can aid in the identification of dress elements within historic burials and further the interpretation of identity. The following chapter discusses the specific artifactual remains of clothing from two historic cemeteries in Headsville in order to establish how historic costume might be analyzed and interpreted from mortuary contexts.

Chapter 5: Description of Historic Dress Artifacts

Historic dress within archeological contexts is limited to material remains. Yet archaeology is uniquely posed to investigate the physical means by which people composed, sustained, and transformed not only dress, but their conceptions of identity, which were inextricably linked to how one appeared. I set forth a classification schema for the identification of dress-related artifacts recovered from the Head and Adams Cemeteries, but also commonly observed on other nineteenth-century sites. This guide to identifying, classifying, and dating historic artifacts of dress serves as the basis for interpreting styles of clothing and adornment with a view towards expanding research to include the social significance of their occurrence.

I outline the methods by which the dress artifacts of the Head and Adams Cemeteries were categorized into clothing fasteners, shoes, and adornment. This is followed by criteria for identifying nineteenth-century buckles, buttons, cuff and collar fasteners, hooks and eyes, rivets, straight and safety pins, shoes, beads, decorative hair combs and pins, and ring types.

CATEGORIZATION OF HISTORIC DRESS

The historic dress assemblage recovered from the Head and Adams Cemeteries was organized into a functional classification system built upon ideas put forth by Stanley South (1977) for quantification analyses. Due to the fact that South's artifact group and class system was developed to study patterned cultural processes at eighteenth-century British settlement sites, several modifications were made to the proposed categories to encompass a wider variety of material byproducts produced in part by industrial, commercial, and technological advances subsequent to the 1700s, as well as modifications specific to burial grounds. However, this classification system is intended only as a general tool; artifacts may have had multiple meanings and uses that would be associated with different categories and/or functions (Beaudry et al. 1991).

During analysis, historic dress artifacts were initially divided into three, broad functional categories including clothing fasteners, shoes, and adornment, in order to better understand the presence and absences of particular dress categories. The classes within each group are based on form, decoration, utility, and function, but predominantly by provenance within each burial. Additional attributes such as item, specific material, surface treatment, decorative element, maker's mark, morphological characteristics, technological variables, form, color, size, and condition were evaluated as dictated by the necessities of each artifact.

Sorting criteria for each artifact category is discussed below. As the name implies, the clothing fastener category is comprised of clothing fasteners, cataloged here as buckles, buttons, cuff and collar closures, hooks and eyes, rivets, straight pins and safety pins. The presentation of shoe and shoe parts pays close attention to the soles of shoes and their means of production, while the adornment category considers artifacts such as beads, decorative hair combs and pins, as well as rings.

CLOTHING FASTENERS

Clothing fasteners are broadly defined as items separate but integrated into a piece of dress, which were utilized as a means of closure or sizing. Clothing fasteners were classified as comprising buckles, buttons, cuff links, hooks and eyes, rivets, and straight pins. Clothing fasteners are much more likely to be recovered archeologically because they consist of more durable materials than textiles or leathers, which are more likely to degrade over time in burial contexts. The following is a descriptive classification system for clothing fasteners identified at the Head and Adams Cemeteries.

Buckles

Metal buckles recovered from clothing are generally smaller and more delicate than buckles utilized in other contexts. During the 1800s, buckles were commonly used as adjusters, or "cinchers," for sizing at the waist on vests and pants, as well as for use on

overalls. Although buckles would later be made from a variety of materials, such as plastic, buckles were generally metallic alloys of iron or copper during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Buckles were described according to buckle parts, such as frame type, frame shape, and presence or absence of hooks and pins (Figure 5.1). A buckle frame is the metal surround in which the intended clothing item is woven. Buckles consist of either single or double frames in circular, oval, trapezoidal, rectangular or D-shapes. Hooks are the moveable part of a buckle attached to the frame by a pin serving to secure the strap to the buckle (White 2001: 188). An alternative is a pivot frame wherein one side of a double frame is levered against the other. These types of cinch buckles were patented (US Patent No. 13,218; US Patent No. 13,907) in 1855 by Sheldon S. Hartshorn and were still in use into the early twentieth century (Figure 5.2).

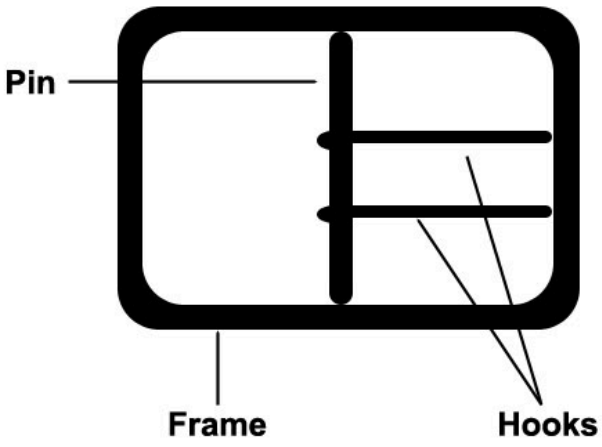


Figure 5.1 Parts of a buckle (illustration by author).

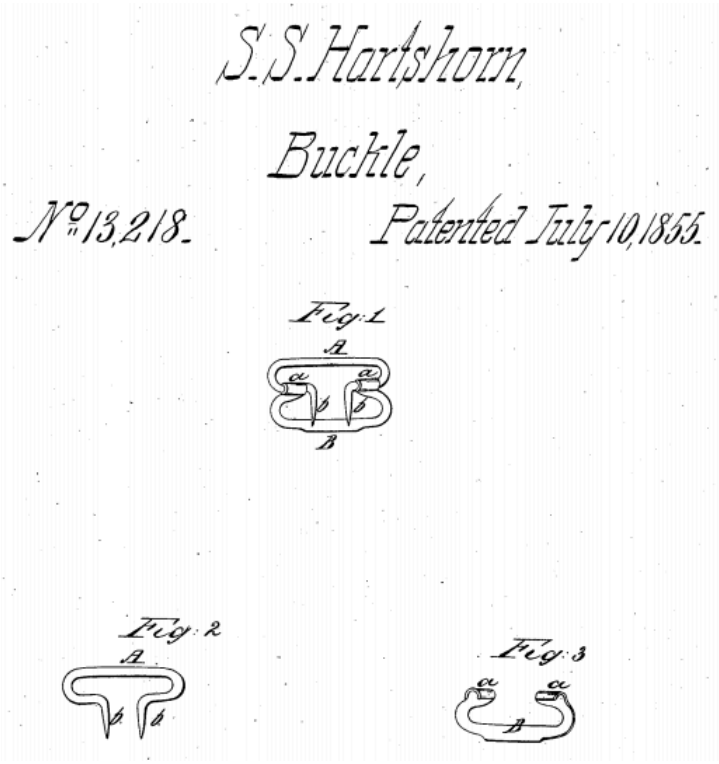


Figure 5.2 1855 US Patent No. 13,218 for Cinching Buckle.

Buttons

Buttons were initially sorted according to material type and specific material type when applicable. Morphological attributes were identified, which permitted classification into button type, button attachment, and button shape. Decorative characteristics were also noted for decorated buttons. In addition, maker's marks were recorded when present, along with artifact color, form, and condition. Size was documented for all buttons when possible.

Materials

Historic buttons were manufactured from a variety of materials including but not limited to bone, ceramic, composition, glass, hard rubber, metal, and shell. Each button material presented its own qualities and limitations that offered suitability for a variety of fastenings on a variety of clothing items. Below is a presentation of classification criteria for each material type along with pertinent manufacturing history and dating information.

Bone

Bone, as a byproduct of animal butchering, was a widely-available source material for the manufacturing of buttons. After the animal bone was softened, it was cut into discs, which could then be turned to add sew-through attachments or left blank to serve as the base for fabric-covered buttons (Pool 1991: 5-6). Lathe-turned buttons with a characteristic fifth hole predate machine-made sew-through buttons and generally date from before 1830 to around 1850 (Olsen 1963: 553). Although bone buttons could be dyed or painted, they are generally found undecorated, which may be due to the fact that they may have been used primarily on undergarments (Pool 1991: 5).

Composition

Composition generically refers to buttons produced from a variety of early, organic plastics beginning in 1875 (Pool 1991: 9). Natural plastics, such as gutta-percha, latex with rubber, or wood fibers with shellac binders, were usually molded into either sew-through or self-shank buttons (Figure 5.3).

Figure 5.3 Carson, Prie, Scott, and Co. catalog (1893: 288) illustrating composition buttons. Note the distinction between hard rubber.

The mostly commonly observed admixtures are metallic flecks and crushed shell, which present as a slightly glittering surface on the button (Luscomb 1967: 46). With the explosive popularity of synthetic plastics after the First World War, the classification of composition is infrequently used until about 1925. After this time, plastic buttons were produced from more modern polymers (Pool 1991: 9).

Glass

Glass buttons have been produced for centuries with variations to the attachment style. In America, glass buttons began gaining in popularity around 1830, but had fallen out of favor by about 1920 likely due to the rising popularity of plastics. The peak of glass buttons came with the imitation of jet-black buttons worn by the mourning Queen Victoria from 1861 to 1890 (Pool 1991). Glass buttons were frequently used for women's clothing including dresses and gloves.

Hard Rubber

Hard rubber buttons are a type of early, organic plastic, which are black in appearance and sometimes shades of dark brown. When rubbed, they give off the odor of rubber owing to their manufacturing process known as vulcanization (Hughes and Lester 1981: 48, Pool 1991: 9). Charles Goodyear began experimenting with this process in 1844, but it wasn't until 1851 that his son, Nelson, improved the vulcanization patent to the point of mass production (Pool 1991: 8).

The Goodyear rubber patent finally expired in 1870 allowing for other manufacturers to continue producing not only hard rubber buttons but also hair combs and pins. Prior to the expiration of the patent, many hard rubber dress items with the exception of diminutive buttons and hairpins (which were conceivably too small) exhibit a backmark with the patent and company information. Expansion of manufacturers also widened from primarily the Novelty Rubber Company of New York and New Brunswick, New Jersey (N.R.CO.) to the India Rubber Comb Company of New York (I.R.CO.), and various other companies operating up until the 1890s (Hughes and Lester

1981: 48, Pool 1991: 9). The Novelty Rubber Company produced a wide variety of buttons, such as pictorials, political buttons, and military buttons with the greatest variety of attachment styles including sew-throughs, and also loop, pin, and pad shanks. However, the India Rubber Company used self-shank buttons exclusively (Pool 1991: 9). For the purposes of this analysis, buttons not displaying a backmark nor odor were classified as composition buttons.

Metal

Metal buttons were manufactured from a variety of metals and alloys, such as copper, tin, iron, and sometimes lead. Early metal buttons were cast as solid disks, while later, metal was used in multi-part button constructions, as well as for bases for fabric-covered buttons.

Two- and three-piece stamped buttons are the most commonly recovered metal button type. They consist of metal faces and backs, and sometimes a disk of wood, cork, or bone serves as an insert. These varieties are exclusively sew-through, usually four-hole, and are sometimes japanned, or painted with black enamel. These types of buttons date to at least 1845 and were primarily used on pants for flies or as suspender attachments (Mainfort and Davidson 2006: 177; Pool 1991: 2).

Another frequently recovered type of metal button is the sew-through thread bar button. This button variety consists of multi-part construction with a "thread bar" stamped between sheet metal facings and a central double D-shaped perforation in order to create sew-through holes. This improvement to the holes was meant to prevent chaffing of the threads. Although metal buttons touting this improvement were patented beginning in the 1830s and 1840s, it was not until the 1870s and 1880s that further patented improvements were located (US Patent No. 181, 717; No. 216,793; No. 230,352; No.230,361) (Figure 5.4). Although literature on this type of button is scant, James Davidson produced similar patent results and suggests a summary *terminus post quem* of circa 1860 for solid-wire thread bar buttons (Mainfort and Davidson 2006: 178).

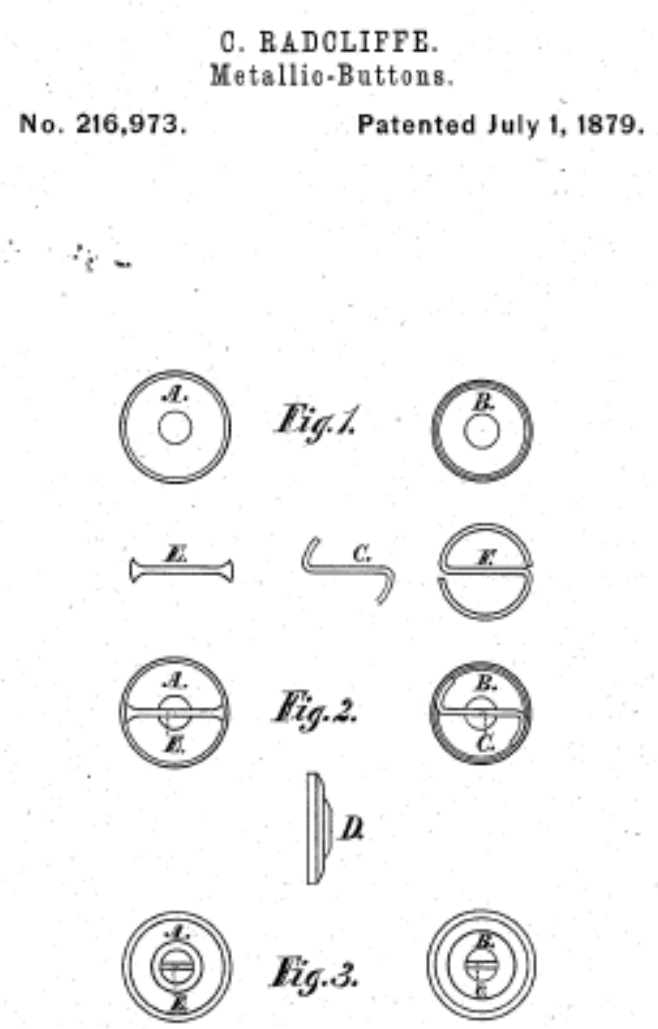

C. RADCLIFFE.
Metallic-Buttons.
No. 216,973. Patented July 1, 1879.
A.
Fig. 1.
B.
E.
C.
F.
A.
E.
Fig. 2.
B.
C.
D.
A.
E.
Fig. 3.
B.
C.

Figure 5.4 1879 U.S. patent illustrating thread-bar or D-hole button.

Another attachment style exclusive to metal buttons is the stud type. These buttons were constructed of ferrous or cuprous alloys and consisted of a button-like disc snapped into a smaller corresponding post (Luscomb 1992: 191). Surface treatment to stud buttons sometimes included a japanned finish or were otherwise black in color.

Porcelain

Ceramic buttons were once considered luxury items, as each button was wet molded by hand. However, with the introduction of a dry process by Richard Prosser and his brother in 1840 (US Patent No. 2,199), porcelain buttons were much more easily

produced, and therefore, more widely available (Pool 1991: 8, Sprague 2002: 114). Although the brothers applied for patents separately in England and America (1841), Prosser buttons were also produced in Germany and primarily in France (Albert and Adams 1970, Storm 1976). Porcelain, like many other early button materials, fell out of favor with the ease of manufacturing modern plastics around 1920 (Pool 1991: 11).

White ceramic buttons, variously referred to as Prossers, china whites, and agates, can be distinguished from milk glass by their characteristic dimples or orange-peel texture on the reverse of the button (Storm 1976: 118). Prosser buttons were available in a wide variety of styles and sizes, and although usually white, could be decorated with stenciling, transfer-print, hand painting, or molding (Figure 5.5). Classification for porcelain buttons within this text follows the recommendations put forth by the National Button Society in *Guidelines for Collecting China Buttons* (Lamm, Lorah, and Schuler 1970).

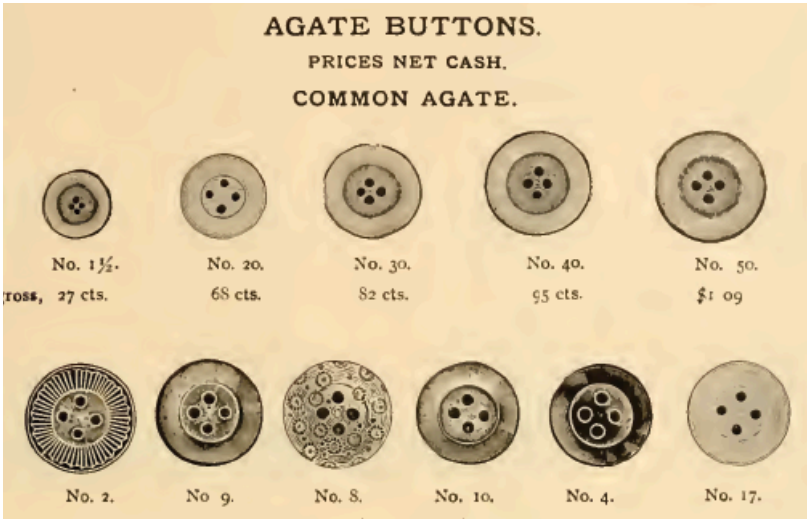


Figure 5.5 Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co. Catalog (1893:283) illustrating porcelain buttons.

Shell

Prior to around 1850, shell, or pearl, buttons were imported to the United States from Europe. However, within 50 years, America no longer relied on outside sources,

and manufactured shell buttons in over 200 different factories (Pool 1991: 6). Like bone buttons, shell buttons were cut into blanks, but then hand hewn into sew-through and sometimes loop shank varieties (Kelso 1971: 52). Shell buttons could be carved with geometric designs or left plain as they were used as small utilitarian fasteners on shirts, undergarments, and children's clothes (Pool 1991: 7). Like so many other natural materials, shell buttons remained popular until replaced by cheaper and stronger plastic imitations (Claassen 1994).

Morphological Attributes

Morphological attributes of buttons are categorized as button type, such as construction method, attachment style, and shape. These attributes help further classify the button for potential clothing use and can provide temporal indicators.

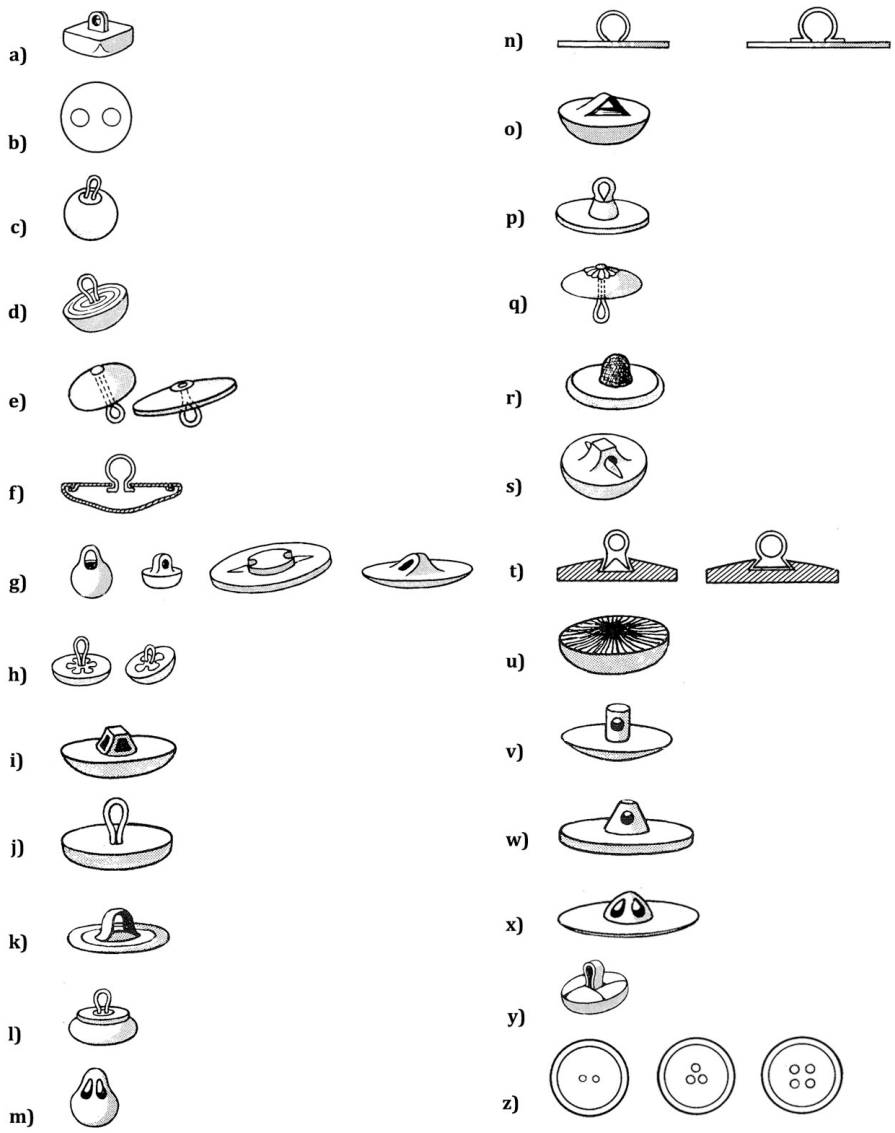
Button Type

Buttons of all materials can be classified according to button type. Button types include one-, two-, and three-piece varieties. One-piece buttons consist of a solid construction with integral attachment to the fabric. Two- and three-piece buttons are constructed of two to three pieces, possibly of different materials, with either integral or secondary means of attachment (Pool 1991).

Attachment Style

Attachment style refers to the means by which a button is fastened to a garment. Three basic forms of attachment include sew-through, shank, and stud (Figure 5.6). Sew-through buttons contain holes from the front to back through which they are threaded for attachment to fabric (Peacock 1972: 123). The number of perforations may vary; however, the most commonly recovered buttons are generally two- or four-hole. Shank usually refers to a wire piece added to the button back for the purposes of attachment (Luscomb 1967). Although generally the shank is secondary to the button, in some cases, as with a self-shank button, the shank is integral. In these cases, a classification of button

type (one to two pieces) distinguishes between the two. Stud attachment consists of a button disk with a post and a smaller disk or knob made for insertion through the fabric (Pool 1991).



KEY

a) key shank b) pantywaist c) shank plate d) swirl back e) pin-head shank f) Sanders-types g) self-shanks h) rosette i) four-way shank j) loop shank k) glove-button shank l) back plate m) birdcage n) alpha and omega shanks o) cut-out shank p) cone shank q) escutecheon r) fabric shank s) wedge shank t) split shank u) thread back v) turret shank w) two-way shank with thread guide x) metal overall type y) leather shank z) sew-throughs

Figure 5.6 Button attachment styles (Peacock 1972: 122-126).

Shape

Shape refers to the shape of the button face and profile. Button faces are generally circular but may be any number of shapes including square. Specific nomenclature has been developed for buttons to describe their appearance (Figure 5.7). Several common button shapes include disc, which exhibits a flat, circular shape; domed, which exhibits a circular, convex shape; dish, which exhibits a slightly concave center with a smooth, sloping rim; and fish eye, which exhibits a spindle-shaped depression in the center (Pool 1991).

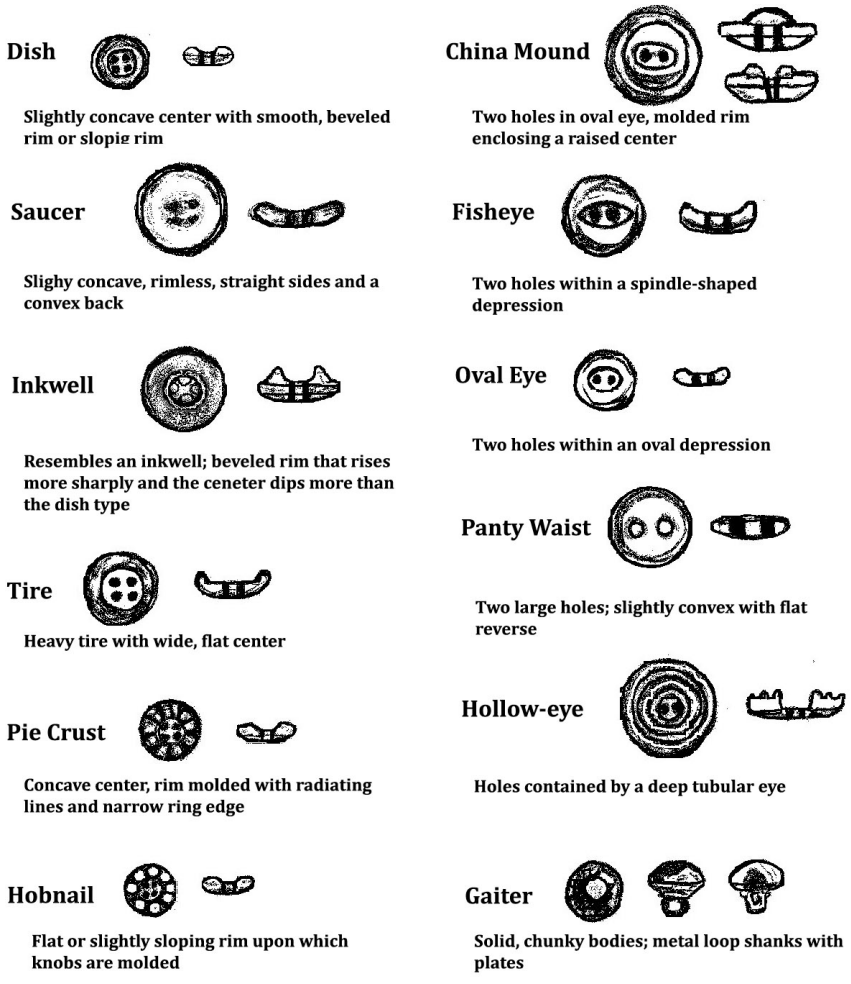


Figure 5.7 Common porcelain button shapes also occurring in other materials (illustration by author adapted from Pool 1991: 8).

Decorations

Decorations to buttons include surface treatments and patterned additions to the front of the button. Decorative elements to the front of the button vary by button material, but generally display an ornamental motif or lettering. For example, shell button rims may be carved with geometric or linear patterns, while metal buttons may be stamped with branding information and motifs. Observed decorations were classified according to decorative technique and element.

Maker's Marks

Maker's marks within a button assemblage are typically present on the obverse of metal buttons. Commonly referred to as back marks, maker's marks usually provide manufacturer information or quality standards. When back marks were present, textual information was recorded, as well as associated manufacturing information.

Artifact Color, Form, and Condition

The color of all button specimens was recorded along with a description of completeness. The diameter (or width) of sufficiently complete buttons was recorded in millimeters. Lastly, the artifact condition, such as evidence of burning, was documented for all button specimens when observed.

Button Size

Buttons can be gainfully categorized according to size in diameter, which is expressed in lines. Two lines are equivalent to 1.57 mm (Table 5.1, Figure 5.7). A series of lines are used to classify buttons according to relative size; buttons less than 15 lines are considered diminutive, 15 to 30 lines are small, 30 to 40 lines are medium, and over 40 lines are large (Peacock 1972). These sizes are associated with different types of clothing. According to the 1908 Sears and Roebuck catalog, shirt and dress buttons are 10 to 20 lines in diameter; vest, coat, and jacket buttons are larger than 24 lines (IMACS 1983).

Button Line	Millimeters	Inches
8	5.0	0.20
10	6.4	0.25
12	7.6	0.30
14	8.9	0.35
16	10.2	0.40
18	11.4	0.45
20	12.7	0.50
22	14.0	0.55
24	15.2	0.60
26	16.5	0.65
28	17.8	0.70
30	19.1	0.75

Table 5.1 Historic Button Line Measurement Conversions

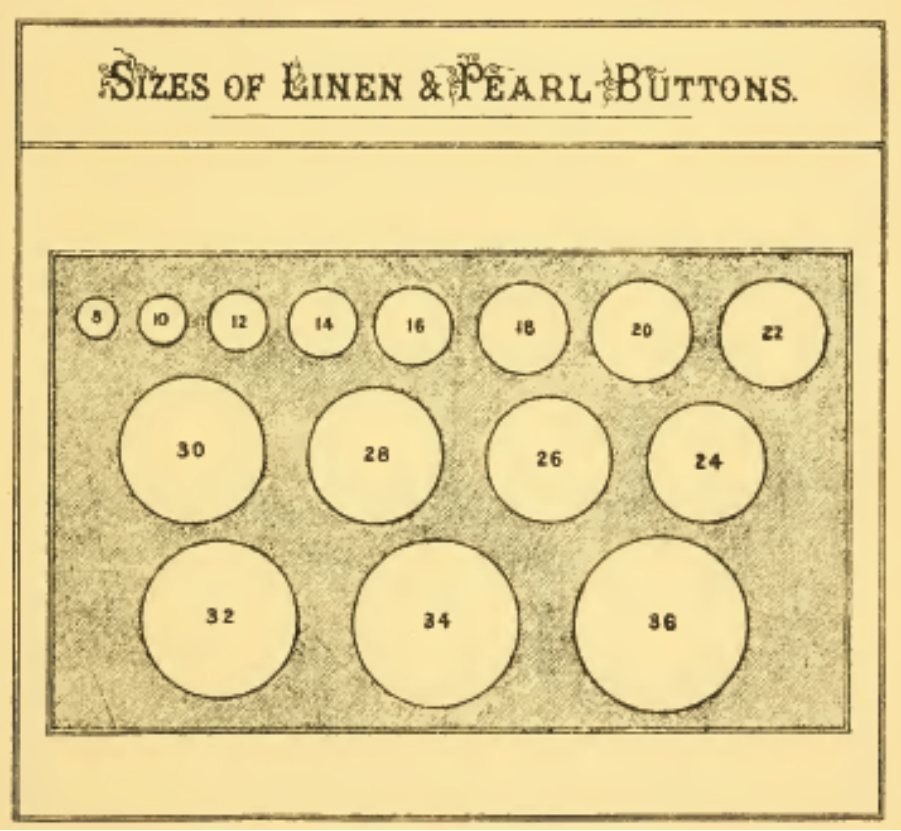


Figure 5.7 Jeremiah Rotherman and Company Catalog (1904:101) illustrating button line sizes.

Cuff and Collar Fasteners

Cuff and collar fasteners can share many of the same attributes in their closure styles. Cuff fasteners are a means of closure to secure the cuffs of a shirt, and collar fasteners secure a detachable collar to a shirt (Figure 5.8). However, in some cases, the designation of cuff versus collar may only be determined by provenience. Although primarily worn by men, detachable collars and cuffs and corresponding fasteners were also available to women. Historically, there were a wide variety of styles and types. Until the early nineteenth century, cuff closures consisted primarily of sleeve buttons (White 2002: 268; Noel Hume 1969: 383). Sleeve buttons were composed of two small buttons connected by links, hence the term cuff link. The buttons were inserted through a buttonhole on each side of the cuff wherein the tension of the links kept the cuff closed. The same closure principle applies to later cuff fasteners with variation to the linkage. I discuss the stud and finger prong closures in this section as they were the types recovered from the Head and Adams Cemeteries.

Figure 5.8 B. Altman and Company Catalog illustrating detachable collars and cuffs for men (1890: 52).

Cuff studs, like most collar studs, usually have a decorative disc-like face with a rigid post attached to the inner face terminating in a knob (Figure 5.9). The face and the knob served as a means of maneuvering the closure into place and as stays. Studs were generally made of one or two pieces in the same materials as buttons, but were most commonly shell, glass, or metal. In the case of one-piece studs, the post/knob was integral. The introduction of hollow, one-piece studs occurred with a patent granted to George Krementz in 1884 (US Utility Patent No. 298, 303), which not only allowed for large-scale production and hence, availability, but also a sturdier product (Rebmann 2015). However, two-piece cuff and collar studs usually exhibit a metallic post regardless of the face material.


148 H. O'NEILL & CO.'S FALL AND WINTER CATALOGUE, 1890-91.

Gents' Jewelry, Etc.

833 835 837 839 841 843 845 847 849

No. 833. Polished Rolled Gold Plate Lever Collar Button, hammered top, 20c.
No. 835. Solid Gold Collar Button, 10 karat, $1.25; 14 karat, $1.75; 18 karat, $2.85.
No. 837. Polished Rolled Gold Plate Collar Button, set with Rhinestone, 45c.
No. 839. Ladies' Solid Gold Collar Button, 75c.
No. 841. Solid Gold Collar Button, set with diamond chip, $1.75; set with Rhinestone, $1.30; gold plated 50c.
No. 843. Sterling Oxydized Silver Collar Button with cut silver star, 25c.
No. 845. Engraved Etruscan Rolled Gold Plate Collar Button, set with Rhinestone, 55c.
No. 847. Etruscan Rolled Gold Plate Collar Button, 30c; solid gold, $1.25.
No. 849. Solid Gold Spiral Shirt Stud, set with Rhinestone, 85c.

Figure 5.9 H. O'Neill and Company Catalogue (1890:148) featuring types of collar and cuff studs. A ladies' type is also present.

Somewhat more complex than a stud closure is a prong fastener. Usually reserved for cuffs, prongs operated under spring tension manipulated by the fingers. Like studs, the prongs were adhered to the inner surface of the cuff face and inserted through two slits in the fabric. Finger prongs were introduced around 1885 along with turret and loop fasteners, two other types of spring mechanisms (Brooke 2017).

Hook and Eye Closures

Hook and eye closures are a simply constructed means of fastening garments edge-to-edge. Hook and eye closures are made of flattened wire bent into a hook shape and a corresponding eye or eyelet into which the hook fits. Hook and eye closures have been in use since at least the fourteenth century, but a variety of improvements in the late nineteenth century increased their popularity (Cole 1892). Hooks and eyes could be utilized on any garment with the desire of less prominent edge-to-edge closure than buttons; however, they were especially popular in women's corsetry in which they distributed the stress of the restrictive garment in rows.

Rivets

A rivet is a permanent mechanical fastener. When utilized in clothing, rivets consist of a metallic post inserted into a cap usually at a seam. This thereby reinforces a seam where it may be under strain and pressure, such as a pocket opening. The novel use of copper rivets to reinforce pants is credited to James W. Davis in 1870 when he was working as a tailor in Reno, Nevada. Word of the durability of Davis' work pants spread, and by 1873, Davis had achieved the financial backing of Levi Strauss and Company to patent (US Patent No. 139,121) his improvement in fastening pocket openings (Figure 5.10). Rivets of this kind are still seen on blue jeans, work pants, and overalls to this day.

Figure 5.10 1873 U.S. Patent Illustrating Rivet Closure in Levi Strauss Work Pants.

Straight Pins

A pin, in its truest form, is used to fasten two things together. While a variety of pins existed in the past and do so today, the term straight pin specifically refers to pins used with textiles. Prior to the advent of safety pins and other more modern closures, straight pins were used extensively as fasteners in historic dress.

Seldom recovered archeologically in their complete form owing to their size and fragility, straight pins can be distinguished from merely copper wire or safety pins in archeological contexts by the presence of a head. The head of the pin refers to the slight knob on one end of a pointed wire called a shaft, by which the pin can be manipulated

and stayed. Early straight pins consisted of two pieces of wire, one of which was coiled around one end of the shank two to three times to form a head (Beaudry 2006: 19). Applied wound wire heads began to be replaced by solid-headed pins in the second half of the nineteenth century with the successful automation of the one-piece pin process (Beaudry 2006: 20-21). Straight pins were still utilized as fasteners in the nineteenth-century; however, they were becoming increasingly less common and mostly utilized within women's dress. Specifically within burial contexts, straight pins might be used to secure a shroud or chin strap.

Safety Pins

Although seldom recovered outside of burial contexts, historic safety pins are excellent temporal indicators with immense diversity. A relatively simple mechanism with surprising variety, a safety pin is a variation of a regular pin with a spring mechanism and a clasp. The clasp not only serves to better secure the corresponding clothing through a closed loop, but also protects the wearer from the sharp point.

Walter Hunt is credited with inventing the first modern safety pin in 1849 (US Utility Patent No. 6,281). These pins included a wire clasp over the point, which kept it from opening, and a circular twist at the bend to act as a spring held in tension (Figure 5.11). However, it would not be until 1877 that mechanization of the time would allow inexpensive and efficient mass-production of safety pins (Mainfort and Davidson 2006: 187). Prior to this, modern safety pins had limited availability as they were laboriously coiled by hand.

Safety pins follow the same basic form of the Walter Hunt patent with slight variations to the head (or sheath) and spring. Head types can be categorized into four basic categories including rounded shield, square shield, enclosed disc, and wire (Davidson 1999: 171-175; Owens and Green 2000: 424-427). These head types may be found in conjunction with a range of springs including but not limited to coiled, guarded

coil, and tubular guarded coil. Specific combinations of head and spring types can be more precisely dated according to available patent data and historic catalog information. Catalog data suggests safety pins were expedient fasteners, backings for brooches, and diaper clasps.

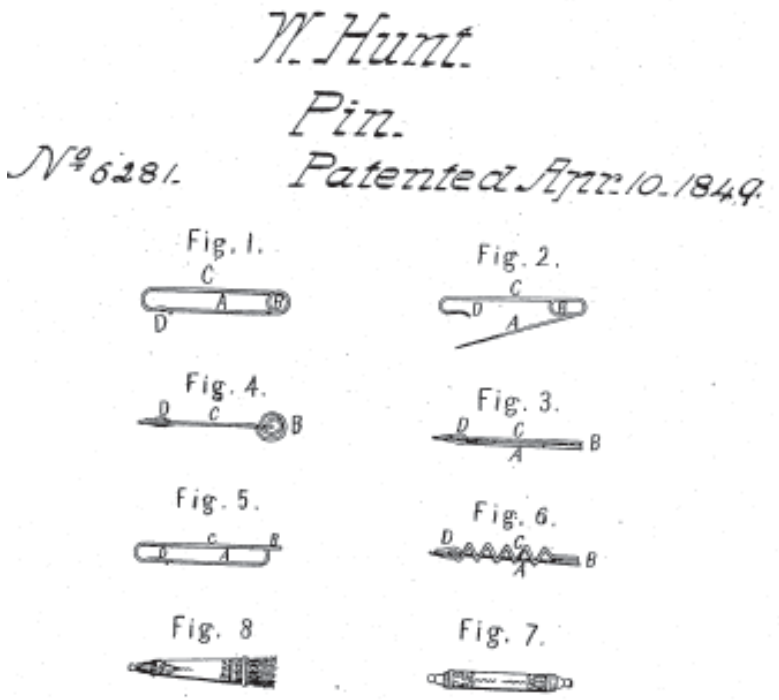


Figure 5.11 1849 U.S. Patent Illustrating Original Safety Pin Designed by Walter Hunt.

SHOES AND SHOE PARTS

Shoe construction methods have changed little since 1912, yet there are scant archaeological references dealing with the technological and material changes seen in shoes leading up to this time (Anderson 1968: 62; Quirk and Beaudoin n.d.: 27). Archaeologically, even within burial contexts, the most likely portion of a shoe to survive is the sole. Shoe soles are most suggestive of manufacturing methods, whereas, remains of the upper portion of a shoe most clearly illustrate styles (Saguto 1987:1). As such, the following provides an overview of the types of shoe construction methods that may be evident for shoes from mid- to late nineteenth-century sites.

Shoes, at their most basic, are comprised of an upper and a sole. Uppers are the top part of the shoe, which are generally made of cloth and/or leather. Each section of the upper has specific nomenclature; however, for the purposes of this dissertation, the entirety is referred to as the upper. Uppers may also exhibit some sort of fastening system to better fit the shoe to the foot, such as eyelets or hooks for lacing, or buttons. Soles make up the bottom of the shoe. At their simplest, soles may consist of a single piece of leather or fabric or may be comprised of two or more portions inside the shoe (or insole), and outside the shoe (outsole). Insoles are generally made of cloth or leather, while outsoles and heels may be made of cloth, leather, wood, and later, rubber. In some cases, filler is added between the insole and outsole, which is considered a part of the entirety of the shoe sole.

Prior to the mid-1850s, shoes were primarily handmade by stitching, pegging, nailing, and combinations of such. Stitching involved sewing the components of a shoe together. Stitching might entail attaching the upper directly to the sole while inside out in what is called a "turned shoe" (Figure 5.12a), or by the use of a welt. Here, a thin strip of leather, or welt, is attached to the outer edge of the outsole, then attached to the insole through the upper (Figure 5.12b and 5.12d). Pegged shoes involved fastening the upper, and usually a welt, to the sole with the use of a wooden peg, but were also used to attach the heel to the sole (Anderson 1968: 58; Figure 5.12e). In shoe construction, the use of metal fasteners (nails or screws) in lieu of wooden pegs is restricted to the 1800s with wooden pegs falling out of favor by around 1870 (Fontana et al. 1962: 105-106; Stevens and Ordonez 2005:14).

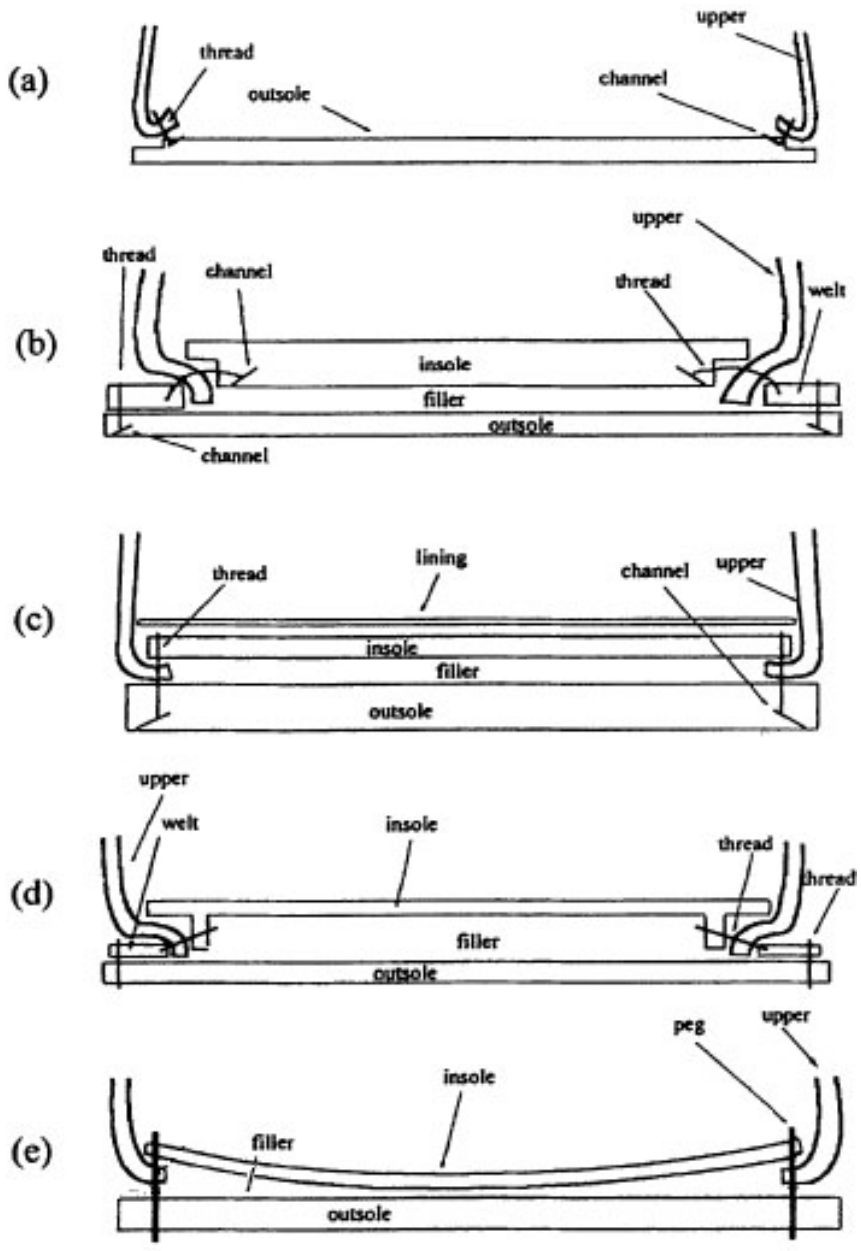


Figure 5.12 Cross-Section of shoe construction techniques: (a) hand-sewn and turned (b) hand-sewn welt (c) Blake/McKay machine sewn (d) Goodyear machine sewn (e) pegged or nailed (adapted from Stevens and Ordonez 2005: 13).

The once primarily cottage industry of shoemaking became increasingly industrialized throughout the nineteenth century. Technological innovations built upon the existing fundamentals of shoe construction by mechanizing and finally automating production. With the patent of a lockstitch sewing machine in 1846 by Elias Howe Jr.,

other machines followed which paved the way for mass-produced footwear (Anderson 1968:59). An intermediate modernization developed by Lyman R. Blake in 1860 involved partially machine stitching the sole to the upper but leaving the toe and heel unfinished. In 1862, Colonel Gordon McKay quickly improved upon this patent with a fully machine stitched sole and upper (Figure5.12c). Charles Goodyear Jr. followed suit and made yet another milestone in shoe production by machine sewing a welt to the outsole and then through a ridge on the underside of the insole (Figure 5.12d). Goodyear's patent of 1875 was considered superior construction due to its comfort by eliminating insole stitching, and by providing durability and water tightness. With improvements to the industry, shoes were now specifically made for right and left feet around 1860, whereas previously "straights" were made for either foot (Anderson 1968: 64). Innovations also influenced style trends as can be seen with the vogue of high heels in the 1880s following the introduction of the attachment of heels with an automatic nail driver (Anderson 1968: 61, 64). In turn, these mechanizations sped up production, and eventually lowered the cost of shoes for the consumer (Stevens and Ordonez 2005:13).

Differentiating between manufacturing techniques and methods is most readily visible on the outsole of a shoe, which is also most likely to be preserved archeologically (Anderson 1968: 56-57, Stevens and Ordonez 2005: 14, Quirk and Beaudoin n.d.: 27, Veres 2005: 93). For a detailed overview of nineteenth-century construction techniques and identifiable characteristics see Appendix F.

ADORNMENT

For the purposes of this dissertation, adornment is considered items of dress which did not serve any functional purpose within the clothing suite of an individual. However, these artifacts may have presented symbolic meaning other than their purely decorative form. Items of adornment discussed below include beads in a variety of contexts, hair combs and pins, as well as finger rings.

Beads

Historic archaeological literature on beads has tended to focus on two subjects including that of trade goods and the symbolic use of beads amongst enslaved Africans and African Americans (White 2002: 316). While illuminating, this dissertation focuses on glass beads as items of adornment within dress.

Within the Headsville assemblage, beads are artifacts constituted of glass with a single perforation. In most cases, beads may be differentiated from other similar artifacts, such as buttons, by this single hole rather than two or more. In some cases, buttons with a single, central hole are recovered, wherein the context of the artifact is paramount. Another possible distinguishing feature is the presence of internal threads within the perforation of a button for the attachment of a gimleted shank, usually of metal.

As beads have been used for adornment since the prehistoric era, they may be recovered in a variety of instances suggesting different uses, such as embellishing textiles and other materials, or strung together as items of jewelry, such as necklaces or bracelets. Once again, contextual information is key to interpreting bead use; however, material, form, and size may provide indications of its likely association. Traditionally, beads are described by archaeologists according to production process, shape, decoration, decorative technique, diaphaneity, and size following the guidelines put forth by Karlis Karklins, (1985) who built upon the classification schema introduced by Martha and Kenneth Kidd (1970).

The first criterion for description is the process of manufacture. Beads of the nineteenth century were primarily produced by four methods including drawing, winding, mold-pressing, and blowing. Drawn beads, also known as tube, cane, or hollow-cane beads, were drawn from a hollow globe of molten glass (Karklins 1985: 88). The hollow lengths of glass were then broken into desired lengths or segments and the edges could then be cut, ground, faceted, or tumbled smooth. Drawn beads are mostly tubular to

spherical in shape with any visible bubbles or striations oriented parallel to the axis. They exhibit smooth, parallel-sided perforations (Karklins 1985: 89).

Winding molten glass around a wire or mandrel created wound beads, also referred to as wire wound and mandrel wound beads. Wound beads could then be decorated with inlays, applique, or molding (Karklins 1985: 96). Beads of this type can be identified by swirl marks and bubbles that might encircle the perforation as a result of the winding of the glass. The perforation may also taper and may have an uneven surface (Karklins 1985: 97). Wound beads can be found in a wide variety of shapes, but are generally cylindrical, round, oval, and even conical.

Mold-pressed beads were produced by placing one to two globs of heated glass into a two-piece mold with a moveable pin piercing the center to make a perforation (Karklins 1985: 100). Molded beads are distinct in that they may exhibit ridges, seams and other mold marks, which can be viewed primarily around the "equators" of the bead or sides and ends. Perforations may have been finished by punching through any extraneous glass and ground smooth, but generally taper with a cracked interior surface. Mold-pressed beads are also commonly symmetrical, and may exhibit a surficial pebbled, or "orange peel," texture (Karklins 1985: 101). Due to the molding process, beads of this type were available in a variety of shapes.

Beads were also produced by a fourth method: blowing (Karklins 1985: 103). Much like glass bottles, glass beads could be free-blown or mold-blown by a glass blower. A third technique allowed for bubbles to be blown into a heated glass tube, which was then broken into segments. Blown beads were fire-polished at the perforations, and spherical or molded in shape. Blown beads were often painted, waxed, or dusted on the interiors to produce a decorative effect. Due to difficulty in distinguishing between the specific modes of production for blown beads, sub-classification was not determined (Karklins 1985: 105).

Decorative Hair Combs and Pins

Decorative hair combs and pins were used to adorn and hold the hair and should not be confused with brushes. Ranging from highly ornate to relative minimalism in design, they were used to secure the hair in simple styles, such as buns, or more elaborate coiffures.

Combs and pins may be differentiated by the number of teeth or prongs, as well as a slight curve usually present on combs to accommodate the curvature of the head. Combs also commonly consist of three or more arched teeth used to secure the item within the hair, while pins exhibit two or less prongs. Combs are also generally one-sided, but both may exhibit decoration along the solid portion(s).

Historic and contemporary combs are found in several styles including back combs, side combs, and bands. As their nomenclature implies, back combs were worn to the back of the head, and side combs were worn to either side of the head, while bands encircled the head in a horseshoe shape (Figure 5.13). Back and side combs may be differentiated by size, as back combs are generally larger, as they were meant to hold back more hair. Side combs, while relatively smaller, were also commonly worn in pairs.

Figure 5.13 Decorative hair combs and pins from 1891 Sweetser, Pembrook & Co. Catalog.

Hair combs and pins of the nineteenth century were made of a variety of natural and man-made materials of either solid or composite fabrication. Materials ranged from tortoiseshell, ivory, horn, wood, and various metals, to relatively inexpensive imitations, such as vulcanite and other early natural plastics.

Rings

Finger rings as an item of adornment stretch far back into antiquity. Rings, at their simplest, consist solely of a hoop, or band, worn around the finger. More intricate rings are composed of a hoop on which a bezel is worn. Bezels can be plain or set with stone or glass; hence, the common term "setting." Rings of the nineteenth century were made from a variety of materials including metals, stone, horn, and hard rubber.

CONCLUSIONS

This chapter provided an overview of specific clothing and adornment artifacts that were recovered from the Head and Adams Cemeteries but also have the potential to be observed at other nineteenth-century sites including residential ones. The most prevalent artifact is the button, while other items such as buckles, cuff and collar fasteners, rivets, and straight and safety pins are also common. Adornment such as beaded necklaces, rings, and decorative combs and pins are also sometime seen, and burial with shoes is rare. Patterns of these artifacts as well as certain material types seem to indicate particular divisions in types of clothing. For example, metal and glass buttons are more sensitive markers of gender and age, while porcelain buttons are more ambiguously present within burials of men and women and adults and children. These types of clothing and assemblages of artifacts are discussed in the following chapter based on findings from the Head and Adams Cemeteries and previous investigations at other historic cemeteries.

Chapter 6: Artifactual Remains of Dress at the Head and Adams Cemeteries

The following is a description of the data set analyzed for this dissertation including the archeologically-recovered remains from the relocations of the Head Cemetery and the Adams Cemetery. Included within this overview is a brief introduction to the complete artifact assemblages from each individual cemetery, followed by a specific discussion of the dress-related artifacts. Dress artifacts are then discussed categorically as a whole by relative frequency.

HEAD CEMETERY

During archeological investigations at the Head Cemetery a total of 11,393 complete and fragmentary artifacts were recovered from a total of 114 interments. These specimens were comprised of arms, burial container hardware, wood, dress artifacts, grave-tending goods, burial inclusions, dental appliances, and several unknown items. Burial markers were inventoried separately (see Basse 2013).

The majority of burials at the Head Cemetery contained items of historic dress (n=82, 72 percent), while 30 burials contained only coffin hardware and two interments had no observable cultural materials (Table 6.1). Four burials contained both items of clothes fastening and adornment (5 percent), while three burials contained only remains of adornment (4 percent). The remaining 74 burials contained solely clothing (90 percent). For spatial distribution of historic dress at the Head Cemetery see Figure 6.1.

Table 6.1 Burials Containing Historic Dress at the Head Cemetery

Dress Type	**Burial Nos.**
Clothing Only	1, 2, 5-7, 10-12, 15, 18-23, 25-27, 29, 31, 32, 37, 38, 41, 43, 45, 47, 49, 52-56, 59, 61- 66, 68, 71, 73-78, 81, 84-87, 91, 94, 95, 97, 98, 100, 101, 103, 105, 107-109, 111, 113
Clothing & Textiles	33
Clothing & Shoes	3, 46, 51, 57, 88
Clothing & Adornment	34, 35, 60, 92
Adornment Only	30, 69, 96

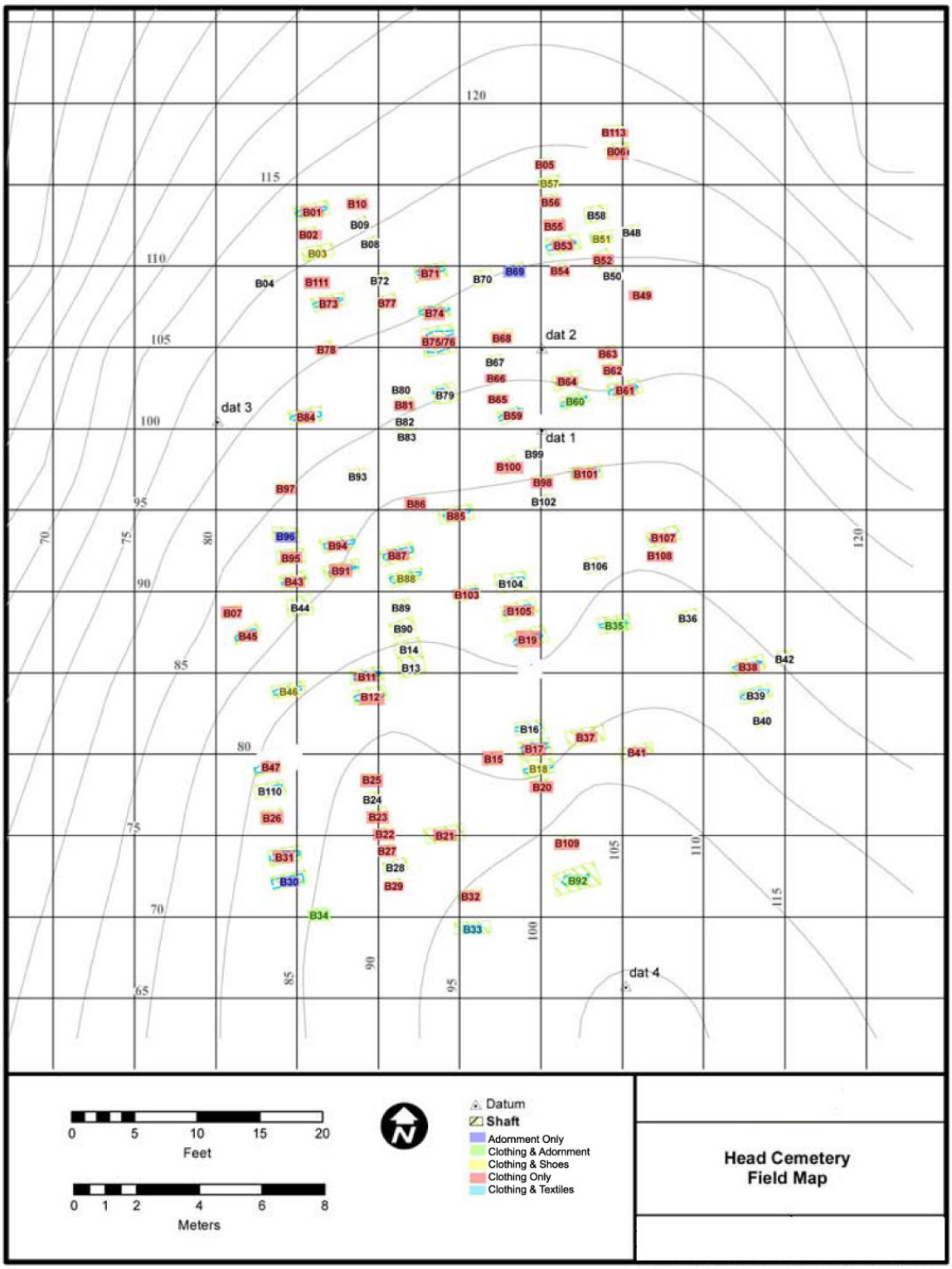


Figure 6.1 Dress distribution at the Head Cemetery.

Artifactual specimens of historic dress (n=1,204, 11 percent) were considered items of clothing (n=911, 76 percent) or adornment (n=293, 24 percent; Table 6.2). Clothing items were further classified as fasteners (n=612, 51 percent), shoe parts (n=299, 25 percent) and unquantified textile samples. The majority of fastening specimens were comprised of buttons (n=496) and cuff closures (n=59). Artifacts related to adornment consisted of glass beads (n=287), hair combs (n=2), hair pins (n=2), and rings (n=2).

Table 6.2 Historic Dress Artifacts Recovered from the Head Cemetery

Category	**Item**	**Counts**	**MNI**	**% MNI**
Fasteners	Button	496	349	81
	Buckle	15	7	2
	Cuff Closure	59	6	1
	Hooks & Eyes	13	5	1
	Cuff Closure, Possible	3	2	Less than 1
	Button, Possible	9	2	Less than 1
	Rivet	3	3	Less than 1
	Safety Pin	9	3	Less than 1
	Straight Pin	1	1	Less than 1
	Pin - Indeterminate	4	2	Less than 1
	Totals	**612**	**411**	**95**
Shoes	Lacing Parts	31	*	n/a
	Heels, Soles, Uppers	255	*	n/a
	Shoe Nails Only	13	*	n/a
	Totals	**299**	**10**	**3**
Adornment	Beads	287	3 necklaces	Less than 1
	Hair Comb	2	2	Less than 1
	Hair Pin	2	2	Less than 1
	Finger Ring	2	2	Less than 1
	Totals	**293**	**10**	**3**
Grand Totals		**1204**	**433**	**100**

* excluded from quantified MNI analysis

ADAMS CEMETERY

At the Adams Cemetery, a total of 2,071 complete and fragmentary artifacts were recovered from the relocation of eleven graves. These specimens were comprised of burial markers, burial container hardware, dress artifacts, burial inclusions, and several unknown items.

The majority of burials at the Adams Cemetery contained items of historic dress (n=9, 82 percent), while two burials contained only container hardware (Burials 9, 11; Table 6.3). Of the former group, two burials exhibited both items of clothes fastening and adornment (22 percent). The remaining seven burials contained only clothing remains (78 percent). For spatial distribution of historic dress at the Adams Cemetery see Figure 6.2.

Table 6.3 Burials Containing Historic Dress at the Adams Cemetery

Dress Type	Burial Nos.
Clothing Only	3, 4, 5, 7, 8, 10
Clothing & Textile	2 (J.R. Adams)
Clothing & Adornment	6
Clothing, Shoes, & Adornment	1 (M.F. Adams)

Artifacts of historic dress (n=115, 6 percent) were further classified as related to either clothes fastening (n=59, 51 percent), adornment (n=21, 18 percent) or shoe parts (n=35, 30 percent; Table 6.4). The majority of clothes fastening specimens were comprised of buttons (n=43), buckles (n=3), cuff links (n=2), collar studs (n=2), and safety pins (n=8). Textiles were observed in copious amounts within the burial of J.R. Adams; however, collection was not quantified nor included within this analysis due to budget and time limitations during relocation. Artifacts related to adornment consisted of glass beads (n=20), and a single hair comb.

Table 6.4 Historic Dress Artifacts Recovered at the Adams Cemetery

Category	Item	Counts	MNI	% MNI
Fasteners	Button	43	34	74
	Buckle	3	3	7
	Collar Stud	3	2	4
	Cuff Link	2	2	4
	Safety Pin	8	1	2
	Totals	**59**	**42**	**92**
Textiles	Jacket	n/a	1*	n/a
	Vest	n/a	1*	n/a
	Shirt	n/a	1*	n/a
	Pants	n/a	1*	n/a
	Totals	**n/a**	**4***	**n/a**
Shoes	Heels, Soles, and Nails	35	2	4
	Totals	**35**	**2**	**4**
Adornment	Beads	20	1 necklace	2
	Hair Comb	1	1	2
	Totals	**21**	**2**	**4**
Grand Totals		**115**	**46**	**100**

*excluded from quantified MNI analysis

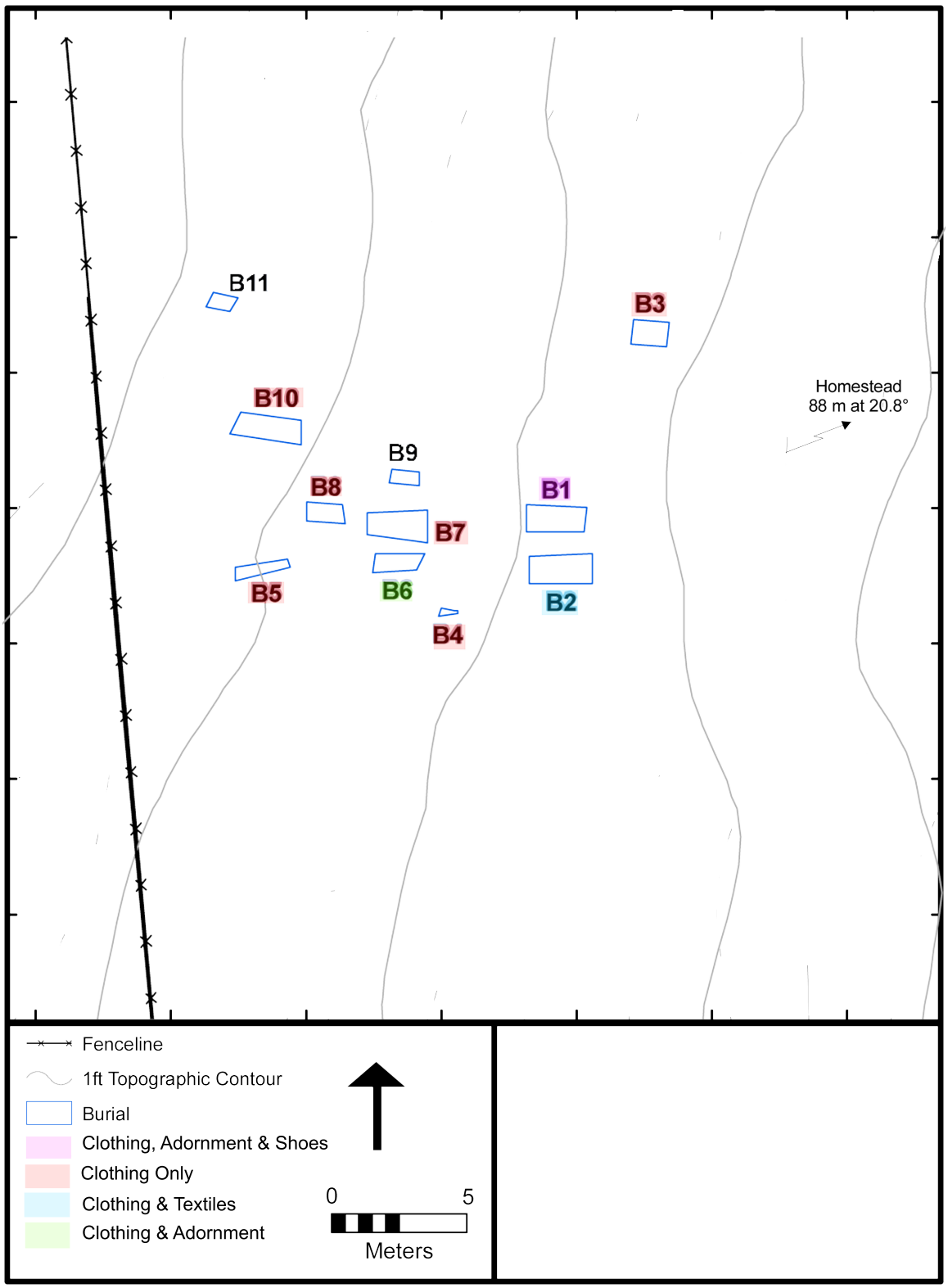


Figure 6.2 Dress distribution at the Adams Cemetery.

DISCUSSION OF DRESS REMAINS AT THE HEAD AND ADAMS CEMETERIES

The Head and Adams Cemeteries not only shared temporal and geographic proximity, but also exhibited qualitatively similar dress-related artifact assemblages. The combined data set from both cemeteries is represented by 479 specimens or minimum number of items (MNI). This total was comprised of mostly clothing fasteners (n=453, 95 percent) with several instances of shoes (n=12/6 pairs, 3 percent), and adornment (n=12, 2.5 percent).

Below is a presentation of the clothing and adornment for both cemeteries following the categorical system previously put forth in Chapter 5. The remainder of the discussion related to artifacts from the Head and Adams Cemeteries is addressed in terms of minimum number of items rather than recovered specimen fragments in order to gainfully interpret clothing remains.

Clothing Fasteners

Clothing fasteners (n=453) were categorized as items of dress employed as a means of closure or sizing. At the Adams Cemetery, this category was comprised of buttons, buckles, cuff closures, and straight and safety pins, while the Head Cemetery assemblage also included hooks and eyes, rivets, and straight pins. The overwhelming majority of recovered clothing fasteners were buttons (n=383, 85 percent). This was disproportionately followed by cuff and collar closures (n=13) accounting for just 3 percent of the fastener group. In even less frequency were buckles (n=10, 2 percent), straight and safety pins (n=7, 2 percent), and hook and eyes (n=4, 1 percent). The least recovered clothing fastener consisted of rivets (n=3, less than 1 percent). Each category is further discussed below in decreasing order of occurrence.

Buttons

Buttons overwhelmingly comprised the majority of clothing fasteners recovered from both cemeteries (n=383, 85 percent). At the Head Cemetery, a total of 347 buttons

were recovered from 74 burials (65 percent), and at the Adams Cemetery 34 buttons were recovered from eight burials (73 percent). The Head Cemetery exhibited the widest array of materials, attachment styles, shapes, and sizes, while the Adams Cemetery button assemblage was limited likely due to the fewer number of interments. In addition, ten fragmentary buttons were recorded at the Head Cemetery, but poor preservation allowed for only limited identification.

Porcelain buttons were by far the most common (n=278, 73 percent), followed by metal (n=56, 15 percent), composition (n=18, 5 percent), bone (n=13, 3 percent), glass (n=10, 3 percent), rubber (n=4, 1 percent), and shell (n=1, less than 1 percent). Attachment styles varied; however, sew-through, four-hole buttons (n=300, 78 percent) were by far the most prevalent, likely due to the predominance of porcelain buttons within the assemblage. Button shapes were assorted, yet dish and dish-like silhouettes were the most common (n=245, 64 percent), trailed by disc (n=26, 7 percent), then pie crust (n=24, 6 percent).

Button sizes ranged from 12 to 32 lines with the most frequently recovered size being 16 lines in diameter (n= 121, 32 percent). Sizes also appeared to cluster around particular material types. Porcelain buttons, also being the most commonly recovered button material, showed the widest range of sizes from 12 lines to 30 lines; however over 90 percent of porcelain buttons were 18 lines or smaller. Bone buttons tended to be somewhat larger ranging from around 22 lines to 30 lines with roughly half of bone buttons being 30 lines in diameter. Composition buttons also exhibited larger sizes, ranging from 22 lines to 32 lines. Yet, the majority of composition buttons (61 percent) were 22 lines. Glass buttons were infrequently recovered, yet were also more likely to be larger, with 80 percent ranging from 26 to 30 lines and the remainder at 16 lines. Metal buttons, like porcelain buttons, occurred regularly within both cemeteries and ranged in size from 18 to 32 lines. However, metal buttons were mostly observed in diameters of 20 to 30 lines with over 50 percent of the buttons within this range. Additional button

materials, which were rarely recovered, included hard rubber buttons of 24 lines (n=4), and a single, fragmentary shell button of unknown diameter (Table 6.5).

Table 6.5 Button Attachment Styles and Shapes at the Head and Adams Cemeteries

Material	**Attachment**	***Shape***	**Total**
Bone	Four Hole	*Dish*	7
		Rimmed	4
	Indeterminate		2
Ceramic	Four Hole	*Dish*	210
		Inkwell	10
		Pie Crust	23
		Saucer	8
		Tire	7
	Screw Shank	*Domed*	1
	Three Hole	*Dish*	4
		Pie Crust	1
	Two Hole	*China Mound*	5
		Disc	1
		Oval Eye	8
Composition	Four Hole	*Dish*	8
	Two Hole	*Domed Back*	10
Glass	Loop Shank	*Domed*	2
	Loop Shank	*Molded Disc*	5
	Indeterminate Metal Shank	*Disc*	2
	Two Hole	*Fish Eye*	1
Metal	Four Hole	*Dish*	3
		Dish-like	9
		Indeterminate	7
	Thread-Bar	*Disc*	13
		Dish-like	4
		Unknown	4
	Stud	*Circular*	1
	Loop Shank with Attached Plate	*Unknown*	4
	Unknown Shank Type	*Fabric-Covered Disc*	3
	Unknown	*Unknown*	7
Rubber	Four Hole	*Saucer-Like*	4
Shell	Unknown	*Unknown*	1
Unknown	Unknown	*Unknown*	2
Total			381

Of note at the Head Cemetery were a number of decorated buttons. Molded black glass buttons with designs of flowers and stars (n=2) and pinwheels (n=5) were located in two female graves, Burials 17 and 35, respectively. In addition, there was one instance of calico porcelain buttons in a blue daisy design recovered from Burial 25 (n=3). Decorated early plastic buttons included a concentrically-molded hard rubber button (n=7) within Burial 31, and composition buttons of a pinwheel and hobnail design (n=10) within Burial 51. Black buttons were recovered as a possibly enameled porcelain button within Burial 60 (n=1), japanned metal buttons in numerous burials (n=17), and glass buttons (Burials 17, 35, 64, 71).

Lastly, a single button with a back mark was recovered from the Adams Cemetery partially reading, "…SOLIDE." It is possible that this mark is associated with the Alma Manufacturing Company (1887 to 1946) of Baltimore, Maryland, for their line of Alma Solide trouser buttons (Clothiers' and Haberdashers' Weekly 1895; Pousson 2017). However, *solide* is also a French and German term for solid, in which case this back mark may represent an import.

Cuff and Collar Fasteners

Cuff and collar closures were an infrequently recovered clothing fastener category at the Head and Adams Cemeteries (3 percent). A total of thirteen cuff and collar fasteners were recovered from within six burials (5 percent of the total number of interments). The cuff closures were recovered in pairs with the exception of a single burial at the Head Cemetery (Burial 59), in which case the assignment of cuff fastener was tentative due to poor preservation. In the remaining instances, cuff closures were mostly matched sets (n=10), and a single mismatched set (n=2). The unique appearance of collar fasteners occurred in Burial 2 at the Adams Cemetery, also in conjunction with a set of cuff links.

Closure means varied at each cemetery. Styles encountered at the Head Cemetery included cuff buttons (n=4), cuff studs (n=3), and indeterminate linkages of shell and copper alloy (n=2). At the Adams Cemetery finger prong cuff links (n=2) and collar studs (n=2) were observed. Closures consisted of gold-plated brass (n=2), gold-plated brass inlaid with glass stones of opaque white and oxblood (n=2), domed black glass with copper alloy shanks (n=4), brass inlaid with glass of goldstone (n=2), ferrous alloy (n=1), copper alloy (n=1), and shell (n=1). A single maker's mark was observed on the set of oxblood cufflinks stamped with "THE LEADER" along the finger prong. Unfortunately, no additional information was able to be located concerning this mark.

Buckles

Buckles accounted for only a small percentage of the recovered clothing fasteners at the Head and Adams Cemeteries (n=10, 2 percent). Although uncommon, buckles yielded a total of four different types from seven individual burials (6 percent of interments). All buckles consisted of either ferrous alloy metal (n=4), or cuprous metal alloy (n=6).

The first type of buckle exhibited an elongated oval frame of what appeared to be wire (n=1). Corrosion of the buckle inhibited identification of a pin, but the buckle may have been single-framed with a single hook. The second buckle type was identified as a pinched, double oval, pivot frame with two hooks (n=5). The third type of buckle consisted of a robust, cast, double rectangle with a single pin and double hooks (n=3).

The fourth and final type of buckle was unique in that it consisted of two roughly rectangular buckle frames on opposing sides of rowed springs with an appearance much like a belt (n=1). The springs in the buckle worked as a self-adjusting cincher as tension increased or decreased with the movement of the wearer. This type of buckle was available by 1895 in the Montgomery Ward & Company catalog and advertised as the "Duplex Patent Buckle" available in four or six strands for use on pants or vests (Emmet

1969:86). This same buckle was still available in the 1902 Sears, Roebuck and Company catalog (Amory 1993:946). It is unclear whether the duplex patent here refers to the double buckles themselves or the coiled springs. No available patent information was found concerning duplex buckles; however, the use of springs in clothing, particularly hoop skirts, was introduced by at least the 1850s. Of note was J.W. Bradley's patented Duplex Elliptic Spring Skirt utilizing double wire springs, rather than single wire springs, owing to their flexibility and durability around 1865. It is possible that the "duplex patent" here refers to previous success of Bradley's double wire springs.

The majority of burials with buckles contained only one buckle, while one burial contained two, and another burial contained three. In these instances, Buckle Type 2 was found with Buckle Type 3 (n=1) and also in conjunction with Button Type 1 (n=1).

Straight Pins and Safety Pins

A minimum of seven pins were recovered from seven interments accounting for two percent of the clothing fastener assemblage within six percent of the burials at the Head and Adams Cemeteries. Pin types included four safety pins; two poorly preserved, unidentifiable pins, and one straight pin. All recovered examples consisted of cuprous alloy wire. No ferrous alloy examples were observed.

The only relatively intact safety pin was classified as a coiled spring with a closed sheath of vertically embossed ribs (Type 1; Figure 6.3). The remaining safety pins were fragmentary and solely identified by the presence of wire coils with no remaining sheaths (n=2), or by a closed sheath with no remaining spring (n=1). Possible lengths for three safety pins were extrapolated from preserved sections and were estimated to be 1.65 inches, between 1 to 1.5 inches, and possibly 2 to 3 inches.

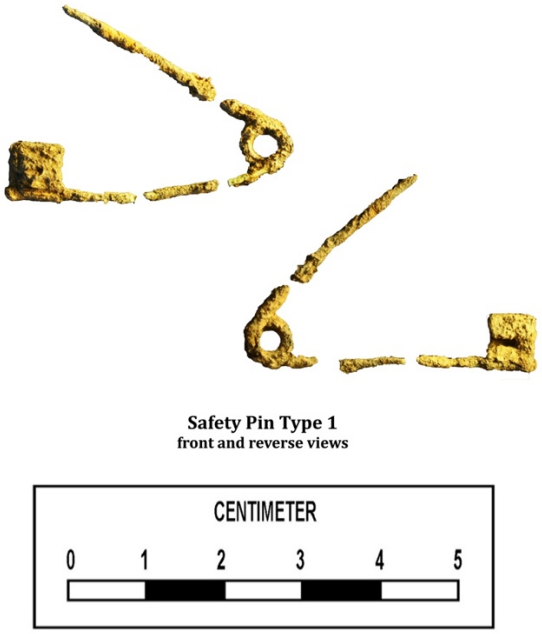


Figure 6.3 Safety Pin Type 1. Photo by Collin Rucker.

A single straight pin was observed within Burial 78 at the Adams Cemetery. The pin consisted of a cuprous alloy wire with a stamped head. Its length was unknown due to its fragmentary condition.

In addition, two wire fragments of the appropriate gauge to belong to pins were recovered from two burials. However, no more information could be gleaned from these two pieces.

Hook and Eye Closures

Hook and eye closures were rarely recovered, likely owing to their poor preservation and small size (n=5, 1 percent). Hook and eyes were exclusively found at the Head Cemetery within four individual burials (Burials 3, 49, 76, 76; 3 percent). All examples of this type of closure were constructed of copper alloy wire with rounded ends and no hump (Figure 6.4).

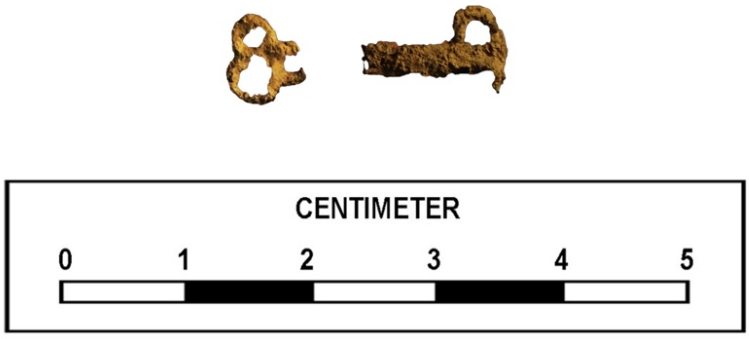


Figure 6.4 Hook and eye recovered from Burial 3. Photo by author.

Rivets

Rivets occurred in a single interment at the Head Cemetery and account for less than 1 percent of the clothing fastener assemblage within less than one percent of the graves (n=3). The rivets consisted of copper alloy in a two-part design.

Clothing Fastener Summary

Clothing fasteners at the Head and Adams Cemeteries were utilized as a means of closure, as well as for adjusting the fit of clothing. Although the fasteners were mainly comprised of buttons, other means were also employed as evidenced by the presence of cuff and collar linkages, buckles, straight and safety pins, hooks and eyes, and rivets. The implications of interpreting these results is discussed in the following chapter.

Shoe and Shoe Parts

Shoes were observed in relatively few burials at the Head and Adams Cemeteries and accounted for roughly 3 percent of the dress assemblage. As a whole, shoes were poorly preserved and were identified by the presence of various fragmented shoe-related items, such as lacing components, soles, and shoe nails. From this evidence, it was gleaned that a total of 12 shoes, or 6 pairs, were interred on the feet of 6 individuals (Table 6.6). All but one of these individuals was interred at the Head Cemetery.

Table 6.6 Recovered Shoe Fragments

Burial No.	Shoe Construction	Manufacturing Time Period	Heel	Upper	Lacing	Comments
Head						
3	Pegged	prior to c. 1870	Stacked leather; 9 layers; 2.5-3 cm lift	none observed	none observed	ferrous cut nails at heel center
46	Goodyear Stitched	1875 to c. 1880	no heel present but cut shoe nails in heel area	none observed	none observed	ribbed insole
51	Machine Stitched	TPQ c. 1880	stacked leather; 1.8 cm lift	none observed	domed ferrous button	copper and ferrous wire nails
57	Goodyear Stitched	TPQ 1875	stacked leather; 11 layers; 2.25 cm lift	textile	domed black glass button; eyelets; speed lacers	repair at heel with copper rivets
88	McKay Stitched	1862 to c. 1880	stacked leather?	none observed	none observed	cut ferrous nails
Adams						
1	Unknown	TPQ c. 1880	stacked leather?	textile	domed ferrous buttons	ferrous ring shank nails

Every pair of shoes presented unique artifactual circumstances, with regard to elements present and extent of fragmentation. This is due in part to varying shoe construction techniques, but mostly to differential preservation. However, construction techniques for the attachment of the leather sole to the upper could be ascertained for 5 pairs of shoes. Attachments styles included pegged (n=2/1 pair), McKay stitching (n=2/1 pair), Goodyear stitching (n=4/2 pairs), and an indeterminate type of machine stitching (n=2/1 pair). Stacked leather heels were present within 6 burials, but appeared to be lacking within one burial, which contained other portions of a preserved outsole. It is likely the heel had completely degraded as 12 cut shoe nails were recovered from the area of the heel. Metallic shoe nails of both iron and copper alloys were discovered in conjunction with the other heels, including an apparent repair to the heel from Burial 57 at the Head Cemetery.

Analysis of the uppers of shoes was limited to the identification of lacing components, and in one case, the cast impression of threads visible on the oxidization of metal components. Lacing buttons were recovered from within three burials. Burial 1 (Mary F. Adams) had a set of at least four ferrous alloy buttons with domed fronts and Sander's type shanks (n=2) and indeterminate shanks (n=4) in 12-line diameters. Similar to Mary Francis' shoe buttons was a single button recovered from Burial 51 at the Head Cemetery, which was also a 12-line, domed ferrous alloy button with indeterminate shank type. Burial 57 at the Head Cemetery contained a domed, black glass button of indeterminate shank type of a diameter less than or equal to 16 lines. In addition, Burials 1 (Adams) and 57 (Head) seemed to contain the only other evidence of uppers in the form of a textile impression left on the reverse of a button, and a textile fragment preserved by the corrosion of several ferrous eyelets and lacers (Figure 6.5).

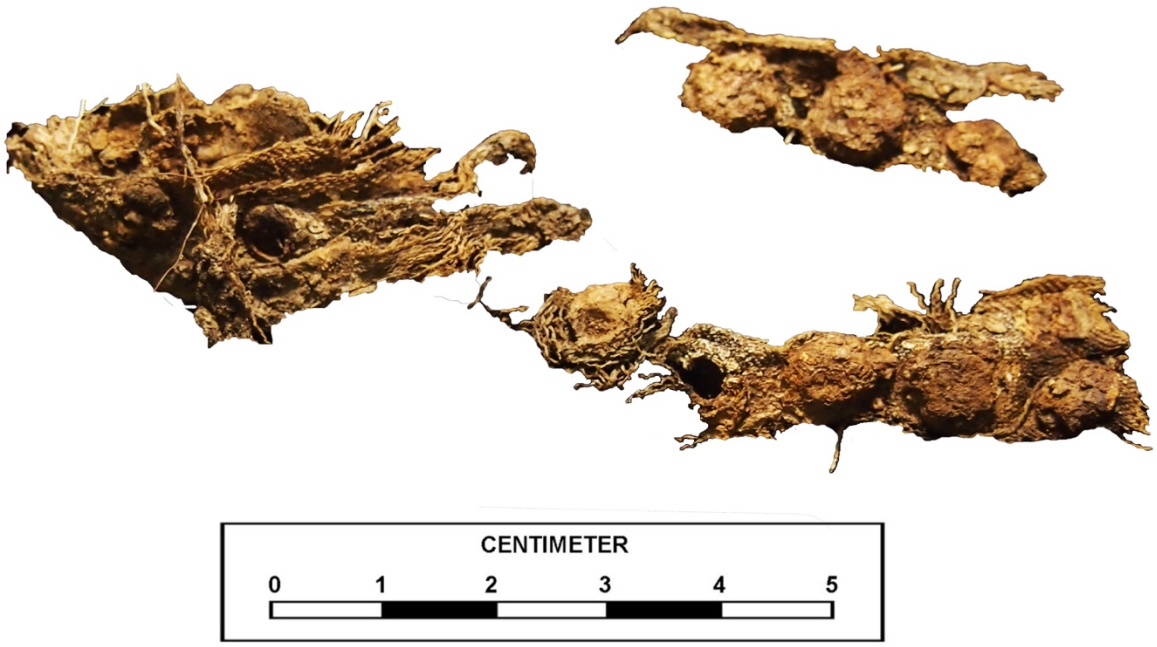


Figure 6.5 Textile upper, eyelets, and lacers from shoe in Head Cemetery Burial 57. Photo by author.

While shoes were not frequently recovered at either cemetery, it was not common practice during the nineteenth century to bury an individual wearing shoes. However, even with fragmentary evidence, these shoes provide insight into the time frames in which they were manufactured, and interpretations of the possible styles worn in the Headsville community.

Adornment

Adornment relates to items of dress which purely ornament the body. While other dress artifacts might also be decorated, such as buttons, cuff links, etc., here, adornment refers to those items serving little to no functional purpose. At the Adams Cemetery, this category was comprised of a beaded necklace and a decorative hair comb accounting for four percent of dress artifacts. These items were recovered from within two individual

burials (18 percent of interments). At the Head Cemetery, the adornment assemblage expanded to include hair pins and finger rings. Here, six percent of the burials contained adornment (n=7), which accounted for two percent of the dress category. Overall, this amounts to seven percent of the burials at both cemeteries containing artifacts of adornment and two percent of the entire dress assemblage.

Discussed below are the descriptions of the recovered beads, hair combs, pin, and rings related to adornment (n=12) at the Head and Adams Cemeteries.

Beads

A total of 307 beads were recovered from the Head and Adams Cemeteries. These beads were recovered in similar contexts, which allowed for the interpretation of their use. Beads were exclusively used for necklaces (n=5, 41 percent) and found draped near and around the neck.

Beaded necklaces were composed of solely glass beads at the two cemeteries. Bead types were mostly wound (n=256) with examples of drawn (n=31) and blown (n=20) types also being encountered. Colors ranged from black (n=124), to deep brownish purple (n=1), amber (n=25), cobalt blue (n=25), green (n=9), colorless (n=93), and white (n=12). Three of the necklaces were multichromatic displaying combinations of black and white; black, cobalt blue and deep brownish purple; and white, amber, cobalt blue, green, and amber. The remaining two necklaces consisted of colorless beads only; however, the necklace of blown colorless beads may have lost their coloring along the interior (Appendix G).

Decorative Hair Combs and Pins

Ornaments for the hair were recovered from one burial at the Adams Cemetery, and four burials at the Head Cemetery, and account for 45 percent of the adornment assemblage. Decorative hair items consisted of hair combs (n=3) and hair pins (n=2) from five individual burials.

Hair comb types identified at the cemeteries included back comb styles (n=2) and a band (n=1). All of these examples were made of hard rubber, two of which exhibited maker's marks reading, "I.R.C. Co G'YEARS PT MAY6'51.," and "IRC CO / …NT," respectively. Both of these marks are attributed to the India Rubber Comb Company of New York, which not only manufactured combs but also buttons. The first maker's mark clearly dates the comb's production within the timeframe of the Goodyear patent for hard rubber between 1851 and 1870. The second mark may have also read "patent" but was only partially impressed with the letters, "…NT." Regardless, the India Rubber Comb Company continued to make hard rubber combs after the expiration of the patent, therefore, the comb was at least manufactured after 1851. The remainder of the combs likely date to after 1870.

Designs for the hair combs were molded. The back comb from Burial 1 at the Adams Cemetery exhibited a graduating scalloped and ribbed design with eleven teeth. The back comb from Burial 30 at the Head Cemetery displayed eleven raised triangles along a crenulated top with nine teeth (Figure 6.6). The banded comb recovered from Burial 60 presented two slight ridges at the front along with 142 teeth.

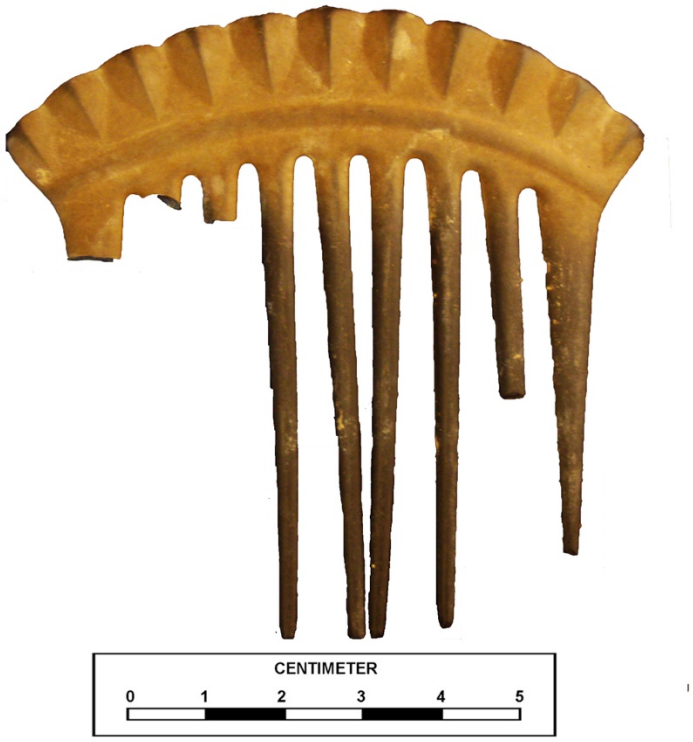


Figure 6.6 Example of a back comb from Burial 30 at the Head Cemetery. Photo by author.

Of extraordinary interest was the hair comb recovered from Burial 60 at the Head Cemetery. The comb showed evidence of having been hand engraved along the interior arch (Figure 6.7). Some letters and words were discernable, and there was no clear understanding of portions of the text. Written in ornate cursive script were the letters, "C.C. Bethel / Bar C ????/ L A R ? ? ? L E ? / L ? ?" Regardless of the legibility, this was a unique personalization of a mass-produced item. However, the surname Bethel was not located in 1850, 1860, 1870, 1880, 1890, or 1900 United States Census records for the area.

Figure 6.7 Portion of engraved hair comb reading C.C. Bethel. Photo by Collin Rucker.

In addition to hair combs, two hair pins were recovered from the Head Cemetery. The hair pins also consisted of hard rubber and each exhibited two prongs (Figure 6.8). They were roughly U-shaped and pinched at the midline. However, one pin was slightly longer measuring 7.65mm in length, and the other 5.50mm in length.

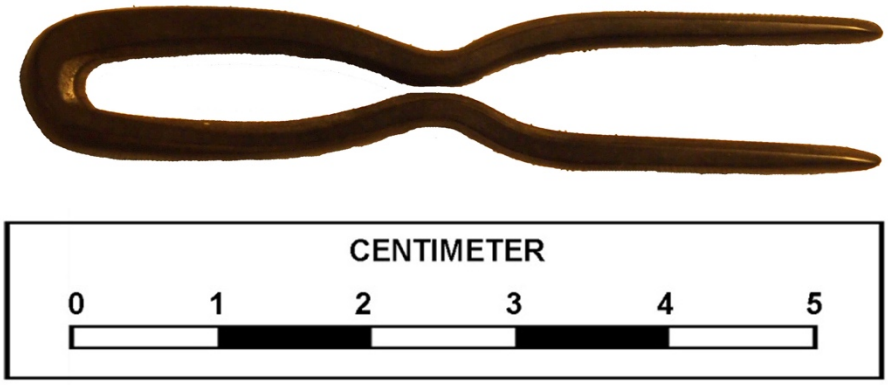


Figure 6.8 Representative hair pin from Head Burial 92. Photo by author.

Rings

Both of the finger rings were recovered from excavations at the Head Cemetery. These two finger rings accounted for 18 percent of the adornment assemblage. Both of the rings were made of a copper alloy, likely brass, in the form of simple bands with slight arches in cross-section of the hoop (Figure 6.9). The ring associated with Burial 30 was approximately size 9 (19mm internal diameter) and gold tone in color. The ring from Burial 60 was smaller and measured near a size 3 (14mm internal diameter). No manufacturer's, quality, or content marks were observed on the rings.

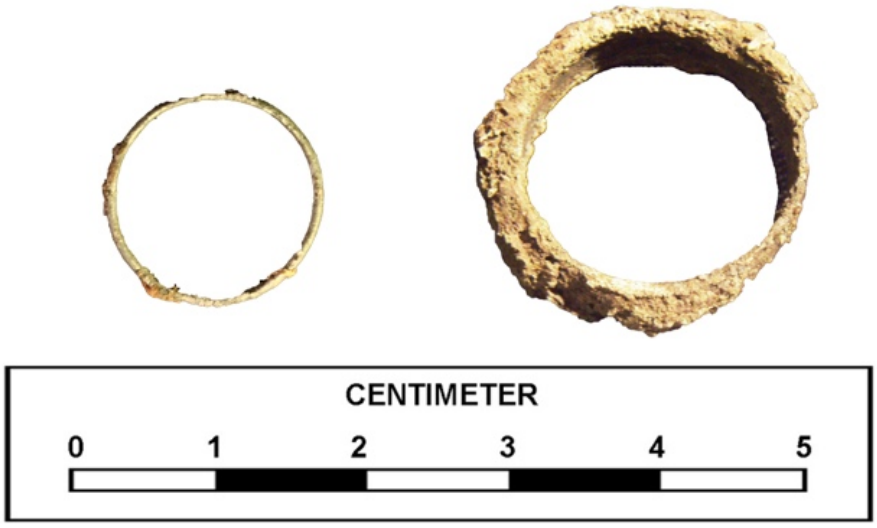


Figure 6.9 Rings recovered from Head Burials 30 and 60.

CONCLUSIONS

The data collected from the relocation of these two nineteenth-century cemeteries within the community of Headsville showed not only remarkably similar results, but also commonalty with dress remains recovered from other contemporaneous graveyards. Out of the 125 burials encountered at both the Head and Adams Cemeteries, a total of 94 contained observable remains of dress (75 percent).

In facilitating the interpretations of types of dress worn by the residents of Headsville, historic dress artifacts were further subdivided into clothing fasteners, shoes, and adornment. Accordingly, archaeological remains of clothing were observed within 88 burials (70 percent), shoes within six burials (5 percent), and adornment with nine burials (7 percent). Individuals were most likely to be buried with clothing alone (n=83, 88 percent), and in some cases, also with shoes (n=5, 5 percent). In one unique case, Mary F. Adams (Burial 1 at the Adams Cemetery) exhibited not only clothing remains, but also shoes and adornment (1 percent). Adornment was also identified in conjunction with clothing in five other instances (5 percent), and least frequently on its own (n=3, 3 percent).

Evidence of historic dress was most prevalent in the form of buttons, and less so as buckles, cuff closures, straight and safety pins, hooks and eyes, and rivets. Shoes were most readily identified by the presence of a sole and heel, and in some cases the presence of shoe nails and lacing parts. Adornment was observed as beaded necklaces, hair combs and pins, and finger rings. In total, 13,464 specimens were able to be identified as 479 items related to historic dress.

Chapter 7: Interpreting Dress Assemblages at the Head and Adams Cemeteries

By utilizing the Head and Adams Cemeteries in central east Texas as a case study, I demonstrate that the identification of clothing types and adornment from mortuary remains provides a singular means by which to interpret how identity might be reproduced, materialized, and constructed. My research determined several clothing assemblages related to gender and the trajectory of age in nineteenth-century Texas. Patterns of dress were limited, in most part, to types of clothing rather than specific styles, due to a lack of textiles; however, distinctive groupings of artifact types and artifact materials point toward a broader basis for analyzing dress remains from not only other cemeteries but also other nineteenth-century archaeological contexts. In this chapter, I outline identifiable clothing based on the artifacts recovered from both of the cemeteries within Headsville, and I discuss how individual artifacts and artifact assemblages can be employed to gain a sense of how people incorporated identity within the act of dress.

SUMMARY OF DATA SET FROM THE HEAD AND ADAMS CEMETERIES

At the Head and Adams Cemeteries, a total of 124 burials contained a total of 125 interments. Located within the Head Cemetery was a possible double burial containing the remains of an adult female and infant (Burials 76A and 76B), as well as a burial containing the remains of an adult lower leg. For the purposes of this analysis, the adult leg is omitted from further interpretation of clothing and adornment. Therefore, the functional number of burials at the Head Cemetery is considered 113 and the total number of burials within both cemeteries 124.

Burial data was accessed for age and biological sex when possible, primarily drawing from osteological analysis and/or marker information, and burial container length in cases of poor bone preservation. The represented population in both cemeteries was categorized according to developmental phases of infant, subadult, and adult. In addition, biological sex and gender followed a binary framework of male and female given the limited dualistic nature of adult dress during the nineteenth century. Still, there is nothing intrinsically feminine or masculine about any particular clothing or adornment except gender convention (Kidwell and Steele 1989). However, this investigation did not exclude the possibility of non-normative gender expression through dress, nor lend primacy to skeletally-determined sex (cf. Tiné et al. 2002: 81). Several conflicts of sex and clothing gender expression are discussed below as the dress assemblages did not always neatly align and possibly represent cases of misidentification and/or misinterpretation.

Methods utilized to identify patterns of dress artifacts at the cemeteries were layered at the individual and collective level in which provenience, and in many cases, material, frequency and fastener type, were of primary importance. The initial approach involved analyzing clothing fasteners and adornment within individual burials in order to infer specific clothing types. Clothing groups for individual burials were then cumulatively examined for correlations with known or osteologically-determined sex and age. Clear patterns of clothing fasteners were identified following along known sex/gender divisions. These categorical results were then applied to unknown individuals of indeterminate sex and/or age. Utilizing these patterns of assemblages complimented with osteological data, allowed for a more subtle and multiply integrated approach to interpreting gender and age. A quantitative approach punctuated by individual examples refined and reinforced these interpretations.

These demographics were also divided into three broad periods of interment to aid in the diachronic assessment of the Head and Adams Cemeteries. These include an Early Period dating between at the latest 1867 to 1870, a Middle Period between 1870 and 1883, and a Late Period dating after 1883 to roughly 1900 (Basse 2013).

At the cemeteries, the majority of individuals exhibited archaeological evidence of dress (n=90, 73 percent), while 27 percent displayed no observable clothing, adornment, or shoes (n=34). However, the absence of archaeologically-preserved artifacts does not preclude the absolute absence of dress. In fact, it appears that the dress remains are skewed along age and sex, and likely represent differing types of dress for individuals of different genders based on age. Adult burials almost always contained evidence of dress (n=38, 93 percent), subadult burials contained evidence of dress in nearly three-quarters of the sample (n=33, 77 percent), while infants were the least likely to exhibit archaeological evidence of dress with only half containing dress artifacts (n=20, 49 percent).

I further gleaned that where biological sex was determined or gender was known based on headstone/marker information, nearly all of the burials contained at least one dress-related artifact. This sample is heavily weighted not only towards adults but also males, who were ten percent more likely to exhibit marker information than females. Accordingly, male burials (n=28) contained dress 100 percent of the time, followed closely by female burials at 92 percent (n=11), and burials of indeterminate sex (n=8) at 80 percent.

Following this thread through time, the lowest percentage of dress remains were recovered from Early Period burials (n=26, 59 percent). The most significant occurrence of individuals exhibiting dress were dated to the Middle Period (n=54, 83 percent). Relatively fewer interments in the Late Period contained clothing, adornment, or shoes

(n=10, 67 percent). This is contrary to burial container ornamentation, which dramatically increased during this period (Basse 2013). Interestingly, the percentage of infant, subadult, and adult female interments exhibiting dress fluctuated between each period. Known males, however, regardless of age or time period, always exhibited evidence of dress.

GENDERED ARTIFACT ASSEMBLAGES

Patterns of artifact assemblages within the excavated remains at the Head and Adams Cemeteries exhibited trends I interpreted to represent types of clothing. Similar to reports on dress in other historic cemeteries including the Freedman's and Greenwood/Potter's Field Cemeteries in Dallas, Montgomery Hill Cemetery in Navarro County, Pioneer Cemetery in Brazoria County, Roberts Cemetery in Bell County, First Street Cemetery in Waco, Third New City Cemetery (TNCC) in Houston, and Becky Wright and Eddy Cemeteries in Arkansas, these assemblages also reflected tendencies associated with age and sex through time (cf. Anderson et al. forthcoming, Bond et al. 2002, Boyd and Norment 2016, Feit et al. 2013, Franklin in press, McWilliams et al. 2014, Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Owens and Green 2000, Tiné et al. 2002). Not only did the presence, association, quantity, and location of particular artifacts appear to indicate specific clothing types, but their absence also made suggestions towards gendered dress. The general trends observed at the Head and Adams Cemeteries were apparent in clothing fasteners and instances of adornment. Diagnostic clothing fasteners appear to be buckles, some materials of buttons, safety and straight pins, and possibly hooks and eyes. Other indicative artifacts include necklaces, hair combs and pins, rings, and possibly shoes. Evidence from other nineteenth-century cemeteries indicates that the deceased were most commonly dressed in what is interpreted to be work, daily, or

Sunday clothing rather than burial gowns or shrouds (Feit and Trask 2013, Franklin in press, Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Norment et al. 2016, Rose 1985). Buttressed by these previous findings, are the interpreted clothing assemblages from the Head and Adams Cemeteries.

The following is a discussion of the proposed gendered and aged artifact assemblages encountered at the two cemeteries and the corresponding inferred clothing types (Table 7.1). A total of two, broad assemblages of artifacts were identified: a masculine assemblage that includes subadults and adults, and a feminine and gender-neutral non-adult assemblage. It is important to note that this discussion is framed according to the archaeologically-recovered artifact assemblages themselves, and then by the interpreted clothing types within those artifact assemblages. First, the male assemblage of dress is presented according to archaeological determinations of particular clothing items, such as pants, shirt, and waistcoats and coats. Then the masculine assemblage is discussed according to two, clearly recognizable combinations of these clothes. Next, I discuss the most challenging assemblage: the female and gender-neutral non-adult artifacts. Archaeological elements suggestive of women's dresses, tellingly, overlap with that of most subadults and infants regardless of the latter's gender. This assemblage is interpreted according to the difficulties in ascertaining specific female dress and juvenile dress in the absence of distinctively gendered or aged artifacts save for some items of adornment. I then present a concluding argument that these aspects of dress lend themselves to the interpretation of how age and gender were materialized by individuals in the community of Headsville, and perhaps beyond.

Table 7.1 Gendered Artifact Assemblages Identified by Cemetery and Age Group

		Head		Adams	
Assemblage	**Age**	**N**	**%**	**N**	**%**
Absence of Dress	Infant	19	17	2	18
	Subadult	10	9	0	0
	Adult	3	3	0	0
	Subtotal	**32**	**28**	**2**	**18**
Masculine Assemblage	Infant	0	0	0	0
	Subadult	7	6	0	0
	Adult	18	16	1	9
	Subtotal	**25**	**22**	**1**	**9**
Feminine/Nonadult Assemblage	Infant	18	16	2	18
	Subadult	23	20	2	18
	Adult	15	13	4	36
	Subtotal	**56**	**50**	**8**	**73**
	Total	**113**	**100**	**11**	**100**

Male Assemblage

The most easily recognized assemblage of dress artifacts at the Head and Adams Cemeteries was interpreted to be male, and consisted of specific button materials, buckles, and cuff and collar closures. Combinations of these gendered artifacts were recovered in several different arrays. From within this pool of dress artifacts, two distinct subsets were observed. The first collection of artifacts was interpreted to be shirt and pants, while the second was in most part believed to be coat, shirt, pants, waist coat, cuff and collar closures, or variations thereof.

A total of 25 individuals at the Head (n=24) and Adams Cemeteries (n=1) displayed artifacts determined to be part of the masculine assemblage (20 percent) (Table 7.2). Based upon known individuals (n=7) and osteological analysis (n=10), a total of 17 interments were identified as male, while none of the interments were evaluated as female. Known males include Joseph R. Adams (Adams Burial 2), John D. Bailey, F.P.

Wright, John T. Head, James A. Head, Rufus B. Bullard, Isiah Greer, and M. McCoy (Head Burials 45, 47, 59, 71, 73, 88, 91). The remaining individuals were either too young for biological sex to be assessed or the remains were too poorly preserved for analysis. As nearly three-quarters of interments (68 percent) with this clothing assemblage were assessed as male based on marker information and osteological sex, it is likely that the remainder of individuals with similar clothing ensembles were also male. At the very least, these individuals were interred in male-gendered clothing.

Table 7.2 Masculine Assemblage by Age Category and Sex/Gender

Age Cat.	Sex/Gender	Burial No.	Name	N	%
Subadult	Male, Known	H45	J.D. Bailey		
		H 59	J.T. Head		
	Indeterminate Sex	H 6			
		H 38			
		H 51			
		H 68			
		H 103			
	Subtotal			**7**	**28**
Adult	Male, Known	A 2	J.R. Adams		
		H 47	F.P. Wright		
		H 71	J.A. Head		
		H 73	R.B. Bullard		
		H 88	M. McCoy		
		H 91	I. Greer		
	Male, Osteo	H 1			
		H 11	E.R?		
		H 12	M.I.R?		
		H 21			
		H 31			
		H 37			
		H 46			
		H 61			
		H 74			
		H 84			
	Indeterminate Sex	H 018			
		H 087			
		H 101			
	Subtotal			**18**	**72**
			Total	**25**	**100**

An archaeologically visible outfit of shirt and pants by themselves (n=15, 60 percent) appeared to be slightly more common at the Head and Adams Cemeteries in contrast to pairing with a coat and/ or waistcoat (n=10, 40 percent). Importantly, pants were primarily indicative of male clothing in the absence of other artifacts and were represented in the archaeological record by the presence of a button fly closure characteristic of the mid to late nineteenth-century (cf. Franklin in press, Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Owens and Green 2000). Accordingly, the clothing items inferred to be part of the masculine assemblage are presented next.

Pants

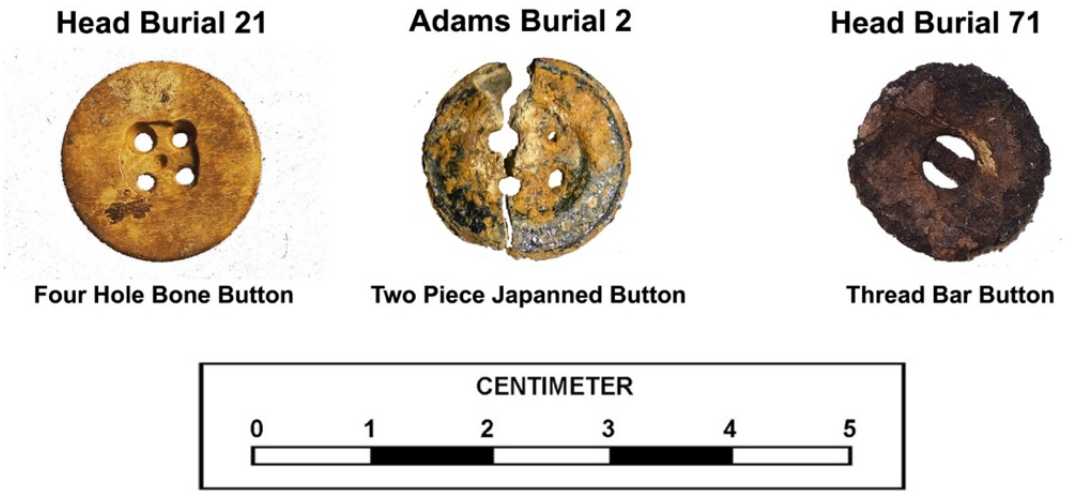
Pants were determined to be the foremost indicator of male gendered clothing at the Head and Adams Cemeteries. Similar findings have also been reported at many other historic cemeteries, most notably Freedman's, Greenwood/Potter's Field, Montgomery Hill, Pioneer, Roberts, First Street Cemetery, TNCC, and Becky Wright and Eddy Cemeteries (Anderson et al. forthcoming, Bond et al. 2002, Boyd and Norment 2016, Feit et al. 2013, Franklin in press, McWilliams et al. 2014, Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Owens and Green 2000, Tiné et al. 2002). However, I differ slightly in my interpretation that porcelain buttons were utilized on drawers rather than pants in absence or in combination with other more definitive metal or bone buttons (Mainfort and Davidson 2006: 196). Therefore, pants were identified by the presence of one to four buttons located near the front waist centerline believed to be evidence of a button fly closure. Buttons were relatively large and measured from 18 to 32 lines with an average of 28 lines (Table 7.3). Pants button materials included metal, bone, and occasionally ceramic; specifically, ferrous alloy two-piece buttons, ferrous alloy stud buttons, stamped ferrous

alloy buttons, ferrous and copper alloy thread-bar buttons, four-hole bone buttons, and four-hole porcelain buttons (Figure 7.1).

Table 7.3 Button Fly Closure Types by Individual

Fly Button Material & Count	N	%
Metal		
1	2	8
1+	1	4
2	2	8
3	3	12
3-4	1	4
Subtotal	**9**	**38**
Porcelain		
1	2	8
2	2	8
3	2	8
Subtotal	**6**	**25**
Bone		
1	3	12
2	2	8
Subtotal	**5**	**21**
Bone & Porcelain		
3	1	4
4?	1	4
Subtotal	**2**	**8**
Bone & Metal		
4	**1**	**4**
Metal & Porcelain		
4	**1**	**4**
Unknown		
2	**1**	**4**
Total	**25**	**100**

Figure 7.1 Representative Pants Buttons from the Head and Adams Cemeteries.



While pants shared the apparent commonality of button fly closures, there were other less frequently occurring indicators, as well as context-specific artifacts. Most commonly, buckles were uncovered in association with pants, but also with vests and coats (Figure 7.2). Notably, provenance, context, and quantities of buckles in consultation with historical documentation allowed for a determination of use when more than one buckle occurred in a burial. From the 25 individuals identified at the Headsville cemeteries wearing pants at the time of interment, roughly one quarter (n=6) also had at least one buckle located under the lower, central thoracic to upper pelvic region with the exception of Buckle Type 4, which was located on the front of the body.

In addition, the vast majority of these individuals were adults between the ages of at least 25 years to 75 years, with an average age of 53 years (n=5, 83 percent). The single subadult also observed with a pants buckle was J.D. Bailey (Head Burial 45) who died at the age of 11 in 1888.

Short Pants

Like J.D. Bailey, John T. Head was another juvenile male buried in 1883 at the Head Cemetery with a unique characteristic to his pants within this data set (Burial 59). Common visual distinctions of age and maturity at the time involved the length of garments, such as the convention that adult males wore trousers, while juveniles were relegated to short pants or even skirts at younger ages. Unfortunately, this element of pants can be difficult to discern archaeologically when textiles have not been well-preserved, which is the case at both the Headsville cemeteries. However, in some cases, short pants might have button closures also located at the knees (Figure 7.2). Such was the case for J.T. Head, who was interred in 1883 at the age of 14 years wearing short pants identifiable through the presence of an 18-line, japanned thread bar button.

Figure 7.2 Boy's pant suit illustrating button closure located at the knee from the 1893 Illustrated Catalogue of Carson, Pirie, Scott and Company.

Riveted Pants

Metallic rivets were recovered from a single burial belonging to F.P. Wright at the Head Cemetery (Burial 47) (cf. Franklin in press, Psota 2002). The three brass rivets were used to strengthen pant construction. As early as 1873, Levi Strauss was utilizing riveting in his work pants. As the interment of F.P. Wright is marked as occurring in 1888, brass rivets may indicate an early pair of Levi Strauss and Company work pants.

Shirts

Shirts were characterized by front center button closure. In the absence of buttons, shirts in male burials were likely pull-over. In addition, shirt cuffs and collars were evidenced by formal cuff links and collar studs, as well as simple porcelain buttons located at the wrists and neck, respectively. Analogous findings have been reported at other historic cemeteries in Texas (Bond et al. 2002, Boyd and Norment 2016, Feit et al. 2013, Franklin in press, McWilliams et al. 2014, Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Owens and Green 2000, Tiné et al. 2002).

Shirts were present in conjunction with pants in the male gendered clothing assemblage (Table 7.4). Of the 25 interments believed to display evidence of pants, just less than half also contained an additional front center closure in the upper thoracic region considered to be an indication of a shirt (n=11, 44 percent). Shirt buttons were generally located along the midline in a column of one to eight buttons and consisted exclusively of ceramic utilizing the Prosser technique of manufacture. Button sizes ranged from somewhat small at 12 lines to 20 lines with an average of 16 lines.

Table 7.4 Shirt Types and Closures

Shirt Types & Closures	Burial No.	Name	N	%
Pullover (no closures)			**8**	**32**
	H 006			
	H 012	M.IR?		
	H 021			
	H 046			
	H 061			
	H 073	R.B. Bullard		
	H 091	Isiah Greer		
	H 103			
Front center porcelain button closure			**11**	**44**
	H 011	E.R.?		
	H 018			
	H 037			
	H 038			
	H 045	J.D. Bailey		
	H 047	F.P. Wright		
	H 051			
	H 068			
	H 074			
	H 084			
	H 101			
Pullover with cuff closure only			**5**	**20**
	H 001			
	H 031			
	H 071	J.A. Head		
	H 088	M. McCoy		
	A 02	J.R. Adams		
	H 59	J.T. Head		
Pullover with collar & cuff closures	A 02	J.R. Adams	**1**	**4**
Total			**25**	**100**

While the presence of shirts was principally surmised by the presence of a front button closure on the chest, there were other not as frequently occurring indicators, as well as shirt-specific artifacts. There were six burials at the Head and Adams Cemeteries which also contained cuff links, cuff buttons and/or collar studs (n=26 percent). This direct artifactual confirmation of a collared and cuffed garment was complicated by the lack of evidence for a button front closure shirt in all six burials. However, an additional eight burials at the Head Cemetery also displayed no evidence of a button front, but also exhibited pants, coats, and/or vests. This negative evidence may actually represent an older style of shirt as it wasn't until the early nineteenth century that shirts began to be buttoned up the front (White 2001: 620). This would seem to indicate that the presence of a shirt need not be dictated by the archaeological presence of buttons. While a collection bias might be considered, even the smallest of buttons at 8 lines, or 5/16", is larger than the standard 1/4" hardware mesh utilized by most archaeologists during screening of adult burial matrix. Preservation of delicate materials, such as shell, a common shirt button material, may also be compromised. In contrast, I propose that a style of formal, pullover shirt with removable cuffs and collars with no need of central buttons may have been utilized in dressing the deceased (Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Owens and Green 2000). As the likelihood of losing buttons in the wash is supported by the mixing of various styles of buttons on shirt fronts and button flies in the above tables, I conclude that this may have been a viable if not convenient alternative.

Cuff and Collar Closures

Cuff and collar closures are subjectively the most ornamental dress items identified in male burials, which varied somewhat significantly in their level of decoration and materials (Table 7.5). While cuff and collar closures occurred very infrequently in burials overall (n=6 percent), approximately one-quarter of the identified

males were interred wearing some form of cuff or collar button, link, or stud (n=6). Remarkably, nearly all of the burials with this means of closure were also marked with elaborate, marble head and foot stones giving names and dates of death (n=4, 67 percent). This points towards a preponderance of older, adult males not only being more likely to display a formal marker on their burial, but also to be interred with more than a simple button at the collar and/or cuff. The sole subadult to exhibit a tentatively identified cuff stud was J.T. Head, the grandson of J.A. Head, who was also identified as wearing adolescent knee pants at the time of his interment in 1883 (Burial 59). Although, at 14 years of age, J.T. was the youngest individual and only subadult to exhibit a possible cuff closure, tellingly, the other burials were aged between at the youngest 25 years to 75 years with an average age of 64 years (n=5). This would seem to suggest that more formal means of cuff and collar closures were mostly reserved for men of some means, maturity, or perhaps status within the community of Headsville.

Table 7.5 Cuff and Collar Closures by Age

Burial No.	**Age**	**Name**	**Closure Location**	**Closure Type**
H 059	14 yrs	J.T. Head	Cuff, Possible	Possible Japanned Fe Alloy Stud
A 02	68 years	J.R. Adams	Cuff & Collar	Oxblood Glass Finger Prong Links & Gold-Plated Brass Studs
H 001	25 to 50 yrs		Cuff	Poss. Domed Black Glass Loop Shank Button
H 031	50 yrs +		Cuff	Possible Shell & Cu Alloy
H 071	75 years	J.A. Head	Cuff	Domed Black Glass Loop Shank Button
H 088	~59 years	M. McCoy	Cuff	Gold Stone & Cu Alloy Stud

Coats and Waist Coats

Composition, rubber, and metal buttons were thought to represent front center coat and waist coat closures; another element of the masculine assemblage at the Head

and Adams Cemeteries (cf. Bond et al. 2002, Franklin in press, Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Owens and Green 2000). These buttons were primarily distinguished by relative size when occurring within a single burial due to their tendency to overlap in most styles of coat and vest (Table 7.6). In some cases, a buckle could be attributed to a coat and/or a waist coat based upon the assumption that only one buckle would occur on a single garment. Jacket buttons could be distinguished from pants buttons by their relatively higher position on the interred; however, material types might correspond, and button sizes and style were particularly important to distinguish.

Table 7.6 Inferred Coats and Waistcoats by Closure Means, Material, and Size

Burial No.	Age	Name	Clothing	Closure Means	Closure Material
A 02	68 years	J.R. Adams	Jacket	Single-Breasted w/ Buckle?	Metal-Fabric Covered, 30 L
			Vest	Single-Breasted w/ Buckle	Metal-2 Piece, 24L
H 021	25-50 yrs		Jacket?	Unk	Metal, Unk
H 031	50 yrs +		Jacket	Single-Breasted	Hard Rubber, 24L
H 045	11 yrs	J.D. Bailey	Jacket	Front Center	Composition, 28-32L
			Vest	Front Center w/ Buckle	Composition, 22L
H 046	50 yrs +		Jacket	Single-Breasted	Metal I-Bar, 26L
			Vest	Single-Breasted w/ Buckle	Metal-I-Bar, 22L
H 051	4-8 yrs		Jacket	Front Center	Composition, 26L
			Vest	Front Center	Composition, 22L
H 059	14 yrs	J.T. Head	Jacket	Front Center	Metal, 28L
H 071	75 yrs	J.A. Head	Jacket	Single-Breasted	Metal I-Bar, 26L
			Vest	Single-Breasted w/ Buckle	Metal-I-Bar, 22L
H 088	~59 yrs	M. McCoy	Jacket?	Unk	Metal-Copper, 26L

Coat buttons could number as low as possibly one to two but were more likely to range from three to four (Trinkley et al. 2011). Of the nine individuals at both the Head and Adams Cemeteries that were thought to be wearing coats, seven displayed three to four buttons in a column down the central thoracic region (n=77 percent). This was interpreted to represent a front center closure for a coat, which was likely single-breasted. Buttons ranged in size from 24 to 32 lines with an average of 26 lines. Similarly, waistcoats, or vests, displayed at least one, but more likely three to six buttons of a relatively smaller size down the front center. Observed buttons interpreted to be part of a vest ranged in size from 22 to 24 lines with the majority being 22 lines. Waist coats also appeared to be single-breasted and in four instances were also attributed sizing buckles. Button types for both coats and waist coats were similar in design and material, and in some cases, matched. Types of buttons attributed to coats include sew-through hard rubber and composition, fabric-covered metal, thread-bar, and four-hole copper alloy buttons of indeterminate type. Vest buttons were somewhat more limited and consisted of sew-through composition, thread-bar, and metallic two-piece buttons.

Evidence of coats and waistcoats were encountered exclusively within burials reported to be wearing pants. While jackets (n=9) were almost twice as common as vests (n=5), vests were never identified without the presence of a jacket. More strikingly, coats appeared with cuff and/or collar closures just over fifty percent of the time (n=5), vests occurred with cuffs and/or collars two times (n=33 percent), and only one burial with cuff and/or collar exhibited no evidence of a coat nor waist coat (n=17 percent). More than coincidentally the only two burials to illustrate cuff and/or collar closures, coats, and a waist coat, were J.R. Adams (Adams Burial 2), and the namesake of Headsville, James Alfred Head (Head Burial 71). J.R. Adams was the sole individual to have any adornment of gold within both cemeteries and the only individual to wear both cuff and collar

closures. J.A. Head's ensemble was somewhat more subdued with simple domed, black glass links at his wrists. Nonetheless, I assert that this speaks to a level of achieved status within the community displayed at the time of death, which in part may be related to age and masculine maturity.

Female and Gender-Neutral Nonadult Assemblage

The second clothing artifact assemblage at the Head and Adam Cemeteries is rather more ambiguous and is in part recognized by the absence of male-gendered artifacts. This assemblage of artifacts is highly context dependent and considered female in adult burials and possibly female in older juvenile burials, and gender-neutral in younger subadult and infant burials. Due to the similarities in closure means and methods between adult female dress and so-called 'genderless' juvenile dress, burial clothing was assessed on a case by case basis informed by age. Most notably, this assemblage of clothing artifacts was tentatively identified by the lack of a button fly closure in adult burials, and in some cases supplemented by the presence of beaded necklaces, glass buttons, hook and eye closures, hair combs, and pins. Rings were also exclusively located within adult female burials and may be diagnostic of gender. Similarly, beaded necklaces and hook and eye closures were also interred with several subadults of indeterminate sex and may not be indicative of gender within younger age groups, such as infants and subadults.

Porcelain buttons were almost ubiquitously present within the second assemblage, which in many cases were the sole clothing item recovered from the burial (n=51, 80 percent). Although virtually archaeologically identical, groupings of porcelain buttons along the front or back centerline were interpreted as potentially similar closure means for different clothing types. For adult burials, these buttons were interpreted as a possible

means of closure for the bodice of a woman's dress. Similarly, subadult burials with front or back center closure could either be indicative of a female dress or the presence of a male or female child's gown. The occurrence of porcelain buttons within infant burials also likely indicated a child's gown, more than likely a long gown as was the custom at the time. Infants and subadults under the age of three years also exclusively yielded the only safety pins at the cemetery and these were likely for use with diapers.

A total of 64 individuals at the Head (n=56) and Adams Cemeteries (n=8) displayed this overall second assemblage of clothing (52 percent), and they appear to be a varied mix of sex, gender, and age (Table 7.7). Six infant males, one subadult male, and three adult females were identified based upon burial marker information (n=10). Osteological analyses supplemented gaps in these data and further supplied potential biological sexes for adult interments (n=11), including additional adult females (n=4), potential adult females (n=4), and adult males (n=3). While three adult skeletons osteologically presented as more robustly male, here I hypothesize that these individuals are females based on similarity of dress with other known women. The 43 remaining individuals were either too young for biological sex to be assessed or the remains were too poorly preserved for analysis including infants (n=14), subadults (n=24), and adults (n=5). This complicates a straightforward gender determination of the second assemblage; therefore, interpreting this artifact collection is more nuanced, conditional upon context, and perhaps most importantly, age of the deceased. Accordingly, the following discusses inferred clothing of adult females, subadults, and then infants, associated with the second dress assemblage at the Head and Adams Cemeteries. However, this assemblage differs from the masculine assemblage in that the articles of clothing described do not closely align with descriptions of nineteenth-century fashion for women and misses. Items such as crinoline, corsets, bustles, and undergarments as a

whole are interpreted to be absent. Ensembles presented within this assemblage for women both young and old reflect less formal types of dresses usually associated with the home, work, or daily wear.

Table 7.7 Female & Gender-Neutral Nonadult Assemblage by Age Category and Sex/Gender

Age Cat.	Sex/Gender	Burial No.	Name	N	%
Infant		H 049	James Oscar Lown	1	2
		H 054	Andrew Jackson Seale	1	2
		H 056	L. Oscar Seale	1	2
		H 065	James F. Head	1	2
		H 066	William A. Head	1	2
		H 077	F.G. Wilson	1	2
		H 108	Preston Bird	1	2
	Ind. Sex	A3, A4, H2, H7, H25, H27, H29, H63, H69, H78, H86, H97, H111		13	20
			Subtotal	**20**	**31**
Subadult	Male, Known	H 055	J. Walter Seale	1	2
	Ind. Sex	A7, A8, H3, H5, H10, H15, H20, H22, H23, H26, H32, H34, H43, H52, H57, H62, H64, H81, H95, H96, H98, H100, H109, H111		24	38
			Subtotal	**25**	**39**
Adult	Female, Known	A 01	M. F. Adams	1	2
		H 053	Susan Seale	1	2
		H 107	Elenia Bird	1	2
	Female	H 60, H75, H85, H105		4	6
	Female?	H35, H76A, H92, H94		4	6
	Male	A6, H19, H33		3	5
	Ind. Sex	A5, A10, H17, H30, H41		5	8
			Subtotal	**19**	**30**
			Total	**64**	**100**

One- and Two-Piece Dresses

The vast majority of archeological evidence for dresses at the Head and Adams Cemeteries consisted of closures mostly located near or around the front midline of the burial, very similar to that of male shirts. However, in the absence of pants, fasteners at this location likely represent closures for feminine dress. Due to similarities in closure means and methods within the second assemblage of dress, clothing inferences were primarily informed by age of the deceased. I contend that within adult burials and older subadult burials the presence of solely porcelain, glass, and/or hook and eye closures is indicative of a feminine dress in the form of one- to two-piece dresses. Dresses may have been styled as loose-fitting Mother Hubbard gowns, or perhaps a wrapper or tea gown, which could be loosely tied at the waist (Figure 7.3) (Franklin in press, Mainfort and Davidson 2006: 197, Mills 1985, Owens and Green 2000: 445, Setnik 2012, Tortora and Eubank 2011). This is strongly supported by the presence of female adornment, such as hair combs and pins, and within adult burials, the addition of beaded necklaces, which would have been worn by women only at that age. While rings were only located within female burials at the Head and Adams Cemeteries, a larger comparative study is needed to definitively indicate gender on a broader basis since rings were worn by men and women alike. Therefore, I interpret the non-metallic/bone button and hooks and eye closures within the second assemblage to represent closures representative of female dress. At the cemeteries, a total of twenty-two individuals, including eighteen adults and four subadults, were identified as possibly wearing female clothing consisting of one-piece dresses (n=19, 86 percent) and two-piece dresses (n=3, 14 percent).

Figure 7.3 Typical styling of loose-fitting Mother Hubbard one-piece dress in blue calico print (HCTM at Kansas State).

One-piece dresses were the predominant type of female dress identified at the Head and Adams Cemeteries (n=19). One-piece dresses were primarily evidenced by a

central button closure along the front midline of either porcelain or glass buttons (Table 7.8). Examples of one-piece dresses include the round dress, Mother Hubbard, tea gown, and wrapper, which often had an internal bodice fastened by porcelain buttons or hooks and eyes. Porcelain button fastening at this location ranged from one to seven buttons with an average of four buttons. Sizes were generally small and fluctuated very little within a particular burial. Sizes ranged from 14 lines to 28 lines with an average diameter of 18 lines. While porcelain buttons were generally white, black porcelain and glass buttons were also observed. Glass buttons were always black, relatively larger, and more decorative with molded patterns of geometric and floral designs. Decorative buttons indicate that this closure was displayed on the exterior of the dress and implies a relative ornamentation suggestive of a nice dress rather than daily or work wear. A total of two burials exhibited glass button closures in columns of two and five buttons. These buttons ranged in size from 28 to 30 lines.

Table 7.8 Dress Closure Means and Closure Types

Inferred Dress Type	**Closure Type & Material**	**Closure Location**	**N**	**%**
One-Piece Dress	Porcelain Button	Front Center	10	45
		Back	1	5
		Not recorded	1	5
		Subtotal	**12**	**55**
	Black Porcelain Button	Front Center	1	5
		Not recorded	1	5
		Subtotal	**2**	**9**
	Black Glass Button	Front Center	2	9
	Hook & Eye	Not recorded	2	9
	Porcelain Button/Hook & Eye	Not recorded	1	5
		Total	**19**	**86**

Table 7.8 continued Dress Closure Means and Closure Types				
Inferred Dress Type	**Closure Type & Material**	**Closure Location**	**N**	**%**
Two-Piece Dress	Porcelain Button	Front Center & Waist	2	9
		Waist only	1	5
		Total	**3**	**14**
		Grand Total	**22**	**100**

In addition, small hook-and-eye closures were recovered; however, their provenance was not recorded. Due to their fragmentary preservation, it is likely that more hook and eye closures may have been located in these burials, or the larger cemetery, but were not recovered. I hypothesize that the collected hook and eye closures were also located in the thoracic region possibly near the neck serving as a less visible means of closure than a button for dresses.

The majority of individuals identified as wearing one-piece dresses were adults (n=15) with an average age of 36 years and older subadults (n=4) with an average age of just over 12 years. A total of five, adult female burials also contained adornment, such as hair combs or pins (n=4, 22 percent), a beaded necklace (n=1, 5 percent), or a hair comb, beaded necklace, and a ring (n=1, 5 percent), and in two case, shoes (5 percent).

In addition to front center closures, a total of three burials also exhibited porcelain button closures at the waist. One burial contained buttons located at the center of the back, while the other two were not given further provenance. Two of these waist closures were one button, while the third consisted of two buttons. Their size was relatively small and ranged in size from 14, 16, 18 and 22 lines. Importantly, none of these buttons were identified as the pantywaist type, typical of underwear attachment. As such, this waist closure may be indicative of skirt from a two-piece dress fastening. Mills (1985) noted in

her survey of Texas women's frontier clothing that while bodices typically exhibited front closure, skirts were buttoned down the front or left side. All of the individuals identified wearing two-piece dresses were adults with an average age of 34 years at time of death. More interestingly, two adult burials containing waist closures exhibited osteological traits assessed as male (Adams Burial 6 and Head Burial 19). It may be the case that these individuals are indeed male; however, the relatively small size of button closure at the waist does not correspond with other evidence for button fly closures identified at the Head and Adams Cemeteries. In addition, Adams Burial 6 was also interred wearing a blown, glass beaded necklace. Cases such as these clearly illustrate the need to incorporate multiple lines of evidence rather than rely solely on a single data set (cf. Geller 2008:113). The relative ambiguity of clothing within these two burials may otherwise indicate misidentification or misinterpretation for either biological sex or clothing gender, but due to the broader assemblage and provenience of artifacts within both burials, I suggest that the burials are of adult women and stray from osteological assessment in these specific cases. However, these are the sole instances of contradiction between biologically-interpreted sex and artifactually-interpreted gender at the Head and Adams Cemeteries.

In summary, burials displaying button closure, most usually located along the midline of the thorax, and occasionally supplemented with hooks and eyes, were interpreted to represent one-piece dresses in adult and older subadult burials. Additional closures at the waist were tentatively identified as two-piece dresses. Assessment of dresses within these burials was further supported by feminine adornment of hair combs and pins, and beaded necklaces.

Children's Gowns

The difficulty of inferring clothing from the second assemblage of artifacts is again complicated by the close resemblance of closure types and closure means recovered from adult female clothing and non-gender specific children's clothing. Like all burials categorized within the second assemblage, clothing evidence for younger subadults and infants was predominantly recovered in the form of porcelain button closures, hooks and eyes, and safety pins. Limited adornment was also recovered, such as beaded necklaces, and sometimes shoes. While it could be possible that all of these burials were females clothed in dresses as described above, this is not only unlikely, but this also leaves little room for the understanding of nineteenth-century dress and the ways in which it reflected age and gender maturation. The presence of known male children within this assemblage, such as J. Walter Seale, supports this idea (Head Burial 55). Therefore, while it is likely a number of these burials are female, I assert that many of these subadults' clothing exemplifies the period before which strictly gendered clothing is introduced. Examples of clothing during this age could be termed genderless, or gender-neutral, and include simple gowns. Equivalent assemblages have been observed in other children's burials but were interpreted as knit shirts and drawers (Mainfort and Davidson 2006: 191; Owens and Green 2000: 443).

Infant and subadult burials (n=39) represented by the second assemblage were predominantly characterized by a front or back center button closure, occasional waist closure or safety pin, and the rare inclusion of an additional hook and eye. These interments substantially ranged in age from prenatal to at the oldest six years. Therefore, interpretation of these closures was dependent upon age but also taken as variants of children's gowns. The youngest of children were probably still dressed in long gowns, and as they matured and began to crawl and/or walk they were likely dressed in shorter

gowns to allow for freer movement. This is undiscernible archaeologically without the presence of textiles. Correspondingly, the following discusses clothing interpreted to be present according to age beginning with the young children's short gowns and infants' long gowns (Figure 7.4).

Figure 7.4 Infants' and Children's Gender-Neutral Gowns from 1893 Jordan Marsh and Co. Catalogue.

Short Gowns

A total of 20 burials aged between one year and six and half years were interpreted as wearing short gowns at the Head and Adams Cemeteries. When recorded, central thoracic porcelain button closure on young subadults at the Head and Adams Cemeteries was located either on the front (n=14) or back of the body (n=3). Buttons were located in columns from one to eight buttons and were relatively small. They ranged

in size from 12 to 18 lines with an average of 16 lines. Within this age group, this button arrangement likely represents the presence of gowns of short lengths depending on the child's age and inferred mobility development. A single burial within this group also contained shoes, which is a likely symbol of that child's ability to walk, and therefore, that child was likely clothed in a short gown, or possibly even a dress (Head Burial 57).

In addition to central buttons, other less frequently occurring closures were observed at the Head and Adams Cemeteries. These include two porcelain button waist closures and two probable safety pins. The porcelain buttons located within Head Burial 10 and Adams Burial 7 were observed at an undocumented portion of the waist, as well as the center of the back, respectively. These buttons were 16 lines in diameter and could represent waist closures for skirts or possibly undergarments; however, none were of the pantywaist variety. Safety pins were identified within Head Burial 52 and Head Burial 55, both aged to be around one to three years, which likely indicates that the pins were utilized in securing diapers.

Infant Long Gowns and Diapers

A total of nineteen infants, no older than a year, and some prenatal, were observed to display clothing remains categorized with the second assemblage of dress at the Head and Adams Cemeteries. Of this number, seven were marked with gravestones, all of which were definitely identified as male (n=32 percent). Like most burials represented by the second assemblage, the majority of infant dress included a front center porcelain button closure (n=12, 63 percent), sometimes mixed with a shell button or hook and eye (n=2, 11 percent). In addition to this type of front closure, two infant burials also contained safety pins (11 percent). The remaining infant burials exhibited only safety pins (n=5, 26 percent).

Front center closure was arranged in a single column ranging from one to thirteen buttons with an average of five buttons. These buttons were 12 to 18 lines in diameter but averaged 14 lines. This arrangement of buttons on infants strongly suggests burial in a gown, which was most likely long due to their young age. This is further supported by the presence of two safety pins, which were likely utilized as diaper pins. The remaining five burials with diaper pins only could have been buried in a pullover gown or possibly shrouded in a blanket.

In summary, infant burials displaying evidence of dress with primarily porcelain button closures, most usually located along the midline of the chest, were suggested to have worn long or short gowns dependent on age, which in some cases, was furthered by the identification of diapers through safety pins. Some gowns may have also been fastened with an additional shell button or hook and eye.

Anomalous Dress Remains

A total of three burials within the female and gender-neutral nonadult assemblage exhibited no clothing remains but were linked to this assemblage by the presence of beaded necklaces (Head Burials 30, 69, 96). These burials ranged in age from infant, subadult, and adult, and may represent cases of poor preservation or interment dress of a burial gown.

An additional 34 burials at the Head and Adams Cemeteries contained no observable remains of clothing nor adornment. The majority of these were infants (n=21), who were very poorly preserved and exhibited no observable skeletal material (n=10).

Summary of Inferred Dress

In summary, two gendered clothing assemblages were identified at the Head and Adams Cemeteries consisting of a masculine assemblage and a female and gender-neutral

nonadult assemblage. The masculine ensemble of clothing always consisted of pants identified by the presence of a button fly, most commonly of relatively large metal and bone buttons. Pants were most often accompanied by a button up shirt closed along the front centerline with small porcelain buttons, and sometimes a pullover shirt. Pullover shirts also exhibited more formal removable cuff and collars, which were secured by simple or ornate cuff and collar closures of links and studs. In some cases, men and boys also wore a coat and/or vest; however, suits with collar and cuff studs seemed to be mostly reserved for older men.

Revealingly, the female assemblage overlapped considerably with that of subadults and infants regardless of gender. While closure means and methods were similar, clothing types were inferred differently depending upon the age of the deceased. Notably, this assemblage was defined by a lack of male-oriented artifacts, such as pants buttons. Adult and older subadult interments in feminine dress included one- to two-piece dresses secured with small porcelain or glass buttons or hooks and eyes at the front centerline. Waist closures of one to two buttons were also noted for two-piece dresses. Older subadults were more likely to have displayed gendered dress and were suggested to have worn shorter versions of adult female dresses. Female adornment included hair combs and pins, rings, and beaded necklaces.

Younger subadult and infant burials displayed evidence of dress with primarily small to very small porcelain button closures, most usually located along the midline of the chest. These closures were interpreted differently depending on the age of the individual as short or long gowns, respectively. Young subadults and infants were suggested to have worn children's gowns regardless of gender. Diapers were also worn by the youngest of the interred as evidenced by the identification of safety pins. Adornment within these burials included beaded necklaces.

VIEWING AGE AND GENDER THROUGH DRESS

Positioned within burials at any cemetery is a means to explore how clothing and adornment were employed to express age and gender identities. While buttons and other such clothing items only provide a partial view of how dress was historically framed according to the interred and the bereaved, this line of evidence can expand our own views on how gender, dress, and age are rooted in history (Eicher and Roach-Higgins 1992). In order to better understand past and present implications of dress, I discuss how the two clothing assemblages presented above connected to gender through the life course. Inferred clothing based on artifact types and artifact materials argues for relatively distinctive assemblages based on gender and age. These assemblages include masculine and feminine clothing, as well as gender-neutral children's clothing. By employing an interpretative framework for inferred clothing, it is possible to explore social expectations of dress and their symbolic association of maturity and gender within burials. This provides unique insight into the social and material life of citizens of the historic community of Headsville, but also of the historic past (Franklin in press).

Nineteenth-century funerals, already teeming with symbolism of the dead, provided unique opportunities for identity to be ascribed and asserted during the act of dressing the dead. Most ordinary citizens were dressed in their Sunday attire or daily clothes, but the choice of a certain outfit or set of jewelry illustrates the particular and individual decisions shaped largely by community ideologies of gender and age to represent the dead (Aldridge 2004, Franklin in press, Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Owens and Green). It is important to remember that whether deliberate, haphazard, or caring, each item within a burial was placed with or without the unconscious understanding of its potential implications. Thus, dress of the dead was an avenue which could materially illustrate identity. At the occurrence of death, a new social dynamic is

encountered marked by the absence of an individual. Within this transitional space, the community, and even more so the family, navigate their own actualized and idealized notions of identity amongst the living and the dead. Materially presenting these ideals during a ritualized funeral provides the opportunity to assert not only the perceived identity of the dead but also to attest (or contest) the community's gender- and age-specific outlooks.

As such, the subsequent discussion of clothing and adornment recovered from the Head and Adams Cemeteries follows an interpretative framework along the lines of observable gendered and aged characteristics of inferred clothing. These artifactual characteristics shadowed an almost strict boundary between male and non-male. Perhaps tellingly, the feminine and gender-neutral subadult and infant assemblage of artifacts encompasses a wide breadth of clothing for individuals of different ages and genders. This speaks to the difficulties of relying solely on fasteners to identify clothing practices over the life course. While this method was more reliable for men, this was cloudier for women and children of both sexes who had fewer and less diverse artifacts. This also has wider implications for clothing artifacts outside of burial contexts wherein many closures could have been utilized in a variety of garments and do not specifically suggest gender or age outside particular assemblages.

Interpreting Male Clothing

Male dress artifacts are perhaps the most easily recognizable assemblage within a burial context as men's clothing was frequently constructed with more fasteners and more resilient fastener materials. This affords a unique glimpse into some specifics regarding a visual male identity that archaeology outside of mortuary contexts is rarely availed. The following discusses the ways in which masculinity is associated with maturation and

status through an examination of male outfits and the exclusive use of bifurcated outer garments.

Masculinity and Maturity: Work Clothes, Daily Clothes, and Sunday's Best

While J.R. Adams and J.A. Head were interred in what could be considered the hallmark of masculine dress at the Head and Adams Cemeteries, other individuals at the cemetery were also interred in similar styles of clothing. As mentioned before, the male assemblage of artifacts can be further subdivided into two discrete categories. Those interred wearing shirt and pants only, and those also wearing one or more of the following: coat, waistcoat, or cuff and collar closures (Table 7.9). As a whole, these inferred clothing groups could be referred to as outfits. The first of which would be a simple shirt and pants, while the second of which would be a suit. Within the group of individuals identified wearing male-gendered clothing, a slight majority were categorized as wearing the first outfit of shirt and pants only, or Male Suite I (n=15, 60 percent), while the remaining forty percent were identified wearing the second outfit, or Male Suite II (n=10).

Table 7.9 Male Clothing Suites at the Head and Adams Cemeteries by Age Groups

Age Group		N	%
Subadult			
	Male Suite I	4	17
	Male Suite II	3	13
	Subtotal	7	29
Adult (under 50 yrs)			
	Male Suite I	9	38
	Male Suite II	2	8
	Subtotal	11	46

Table 7.9 Continued			
Age Group		**N**	**%**
Older Adult (50 yrs+)			
	Male Suite I	2	8
	Male Suite II	5	21
	Subtotal	7	29
	Total	**25**	**100**

These masculine-gendered outfits can be interpreted with a view towards gender, age, and status. Whereas males of all ages were identified wearing both male outfits, a greater number of individuals were adults. The majority of individuals dressed in Male Suite I were adult males with an average age of 35 years ranging from 18 to at least 50 (n=11, 73 percent). Three individuals were marked with known ages and dates of death, while two were marked with illegibly-inscribed initials. The remaining four burials were unmarked subadults and had an average age of 7 years. Most of these burials took place during the Middle Period between 1870 and 1883, which also corresponds to the period of the highest use of the cemeteries (n=10, 66 percent). During this period and the Early Period (1867-1870) roughly two-thirds of these individuals were adults, and only a single adult was identified during the last phase of interments between 1883 and around 1900.

The second male assemblage occurred less frequently and only within the Middle and Late Periods of the cemeteries, but like Male Suite I, the majority of these interments were adults (n=7, 70 percent). This assemblage was also much more likely to be marked with formal stones as fifty percent of the burials displayed names, known ages, and dates of death (n=5), all but one of which occurred during the Late Period. During the Middle Period, the average age of those interred in this clothing was at least fifty years and consisted of solely adult burials. However, during the Late Period, there were slightly

more subadults identified with an average of 10 years (n=3, 60 percent), than adults with an average age of 64 years (n=2).

Overall, this illustrates that proposed male individuals at the Head and Adams Cemeteries were more likely to be buried in shirt and pants only, rather than a suit until the last phase of cemetery use. This may be related to economic restraints as Male Suite I was more commonly encountered during the earlier periods of interment when presumably the settlement of Headsville was still underway, and the effects of both the Civil War and Reconstruction were still being felt across the South. However, the sole burial to exhibit this type of dress during the Late Period was also wearing riveted pants (Head Burial 47), which indicates this individual was likely buried in his work attire rather than a more formal suit. It is possible that F.P. Wright did not own a suit or was simply not buried in it, but as admonished in Harper's Bazaar just two years before his burial, "in dressing the remains for the grave, those of a man are usually clad in his habit as he lived" (1886: 250). Rather than reading this literally as the practice of burying the dead in their daily wear, I interpret this to recommend dressing the dead in clothing commiserate with their perceived station in life. The details of F.P. Wright's life are unknown, but he is one of the individuals of whom there were no historical documents located illustrating his ties to the community. Moreover, the use of bone button fly closures on pants is seen more often within this assemblage than Male Suite II. Bone buttons were more inexpensive than their metallic counterparts and may have been utilized on garments of lesser fashion or garments frequently washed, such as daily wear or work clothing (Luscomb 1967: 25, cf. Owens and Green 2000: 410). Therefore, I propose that it is more likely that presumed men and boys interred in Male Suite I were perhaps of restrained socio-economic standing, or just average residents, of a rural community in central east Texas.

In contrast to Male Suite I, the second masculine suite was in some cases considerably more elaborate. These individuals wore suits, perhaps Sunday's best, or in one instance, just cuff or collar closures with a shirt and pants (Head Burial 1). These outfits were more substantial in the number of garments required, and often constructed of additional closures at relatively more expensive cost. They were also more likely to be ornamented with simple to decorative cuff and collar closures and were the only male ensemble to also include shoes. This would all seem to indicate a fairly invested presentation of dress, which was likely meant to convey a sense of stature within the Headsville community. This position was also often visible even after death as individuals within this group were twice as likely than individuals of Male Suite I to be marked with formal, commercially-available, marble headstones.

I assert that elements of Male Suite II appear to be entwined with a sense of status linked to longevity and maturity. While presumed males of breeching age to old age were identified within both assemblages, it appears males of old age were most likely to wear suits, as well as cuff and collar closures. The overwhelming developmental stage for those interred in Male Suite II was older adulthood with an average age well over 50 years in both the Middle and Late Periods of the cemetery. Not only is this an achievement for rural nineteenth-century Texas when male life expectancy in the United States was still under 50 (Hacker 2010: 46), it is a striking cluster of burials related not only by dress but also gender and age. I contend that interment in a suit, but more specifically cuff and collar closures for a formal shirt, visually signified to the people of Headsville a sense of status achieved through the success of adult malehood (Figure 7.5).

Figure 7.5 Circa 1879 photograph of James Richard Head and wife, Frances Amelia Burns, with children Louella, Icy Pickney, Frances Alice, John Thomas, and Mary Etta. John Thomas Head was interred in the Head Cemetery in 1883 at the age of 14 years (Burial 59) next to his two older brothers James F. and William A. (Burials 65, 66) both of whom died in infancy (ancestry.com).

This interpretation does not necessarily negate the use of what archaeologically appears to be Male Suite II, or even Male Suite I, in the burial of younger men or even boys. There may be an aspect of presenting a sense of respectability through an ascribed status associated with males regardless of age. This could also be relational as families of prominence within a community wished to demonstrate their desired or perceived position through the display of a funeral. As their kin passed on, a liminal space was entered in which the living coped with the loss and attempted to move forward under a new dynamic in which they must define themselves and how they relate to each other and the community. The burial of the deceased, already laden with symbolism of the dead, could have been the opportune place to affirm the status and masculinized identity of the decedent, and by extension, the community's gendered ideologies were likewise reaffirmed.

Masculinity and Pants

There may be no archaeologically discernable difference to many aspects of age-appropriate masculine clothing, yet there is evidence that indicates that boys as young as three were introduced into gendered dress. At the Head and Adams Cemeteries, the youngest of boys to exhibit evidence of any kind of pants was just over two years old. The average age for a subadult male to wear pants was just over 8 years of age. When compared to the average age of other subadults either wearing gender-neutral children's clothing or archaeologically indiscernible young feminine clothing, the average age of interment is very young at just under three years of age. This likely indicates that the age at which gender-specific boys' clothing, and perhaps girls' clothing, was introduced might have been around the age of three years. By way of instituting bifurcated garments at a young age, a transition in maturity and conceptions of age-appropriate gender are

expressed (Paoletti and Kregloh 1989, Sánchez Romero 2008: 21, Sofaer Derevenski 2000: 397). This intermediate phase to manhood marked by a rite of passage to pants is otherwise not seen within the archaeological record for female clothing as is discussed further in the subsequent sections.

Furthermore, according to general dress standards, gender-neutral childhood clothing lasted until approximately age four but could end as early as two to two and a half years. At this point male children graduated into the recommended, gendered clothing categories. While boys could still wear a type of dress or skirts until the age of around five or even eight years of age, boys could also be breeched, or begin wearing short trousers, as early as four years old. More adult-like costume for boys, such as long pants, could be donned as early as nine years but was more likely reserved for the age of 13 years or older. Such large age gaps seem to reflect a flexibility in the timeline for the perceived maturation of boys.

In order to further develop insight into the maturation of male clothing, the age categories denoted in a sample of period clothing and dry goods catalogs dating from 1875 to 1900 was surveyed for age groups and gender appropriate dress for male children (Table 7.10). Several categories were consistently recognized according to biological age in months and years, and roughly corresponds to 0 to 6 months of age, under 4 years, 4 to 12 years, and older than 12 years. These categories also signified meaningful changes in the types of clothing prescribed as appropriate both to age and gender. Interestingly, age categories often correspond to size and price, as well, which may be a reflection of the only still developing size categories for ready-to-wear clothing.

Table 7.10 Boys' Clothing by Age Ranges

Year	Catalog Manufacturer	Low End Age Ranges	High End Age Ranges
1877	O. Jones	3 to 10 yrs- short pants	none listed
Circa 1880s	George W. Simmons	4 to 10 yrs - knee pants 10 to 13 yrs; 13 to 15 yrs	15 to 21 yrs
1886	Bronner's Fashionable Clothing House	2 to 6/8 yrs - kilt suits 4-8 to 12-14 yrs - short pants	9 to 17 yrs - long pants
1890	H. O 'Neil & Co.	2.5 to 5 yrs - kilt suits 4 to 14 yrs - short pants	13 to 18 yrs - long pants
1893	Jordan, Marsh & Co.	2 ½ to 6 yrs - kilt suits 4 to 8-16 yrs - short pants	14/16 to 18/19 yrs – long pants
1895	Jordan, Marsh & Co.	2.5 to 4 yrs - kilt suits 3/4 to 7/8 yrs - short pants	14 to 19 yrs - long pants
1898	H. O 'Neil & Co.	2.5 to 4 yrs - kilt suits 3 to 8 yrs brownie suits 3 to 12 yrs - sailor suits 6 to 16 yrs - short pants	14 to 19 yrs - long pants
1899	Chicago House Wrecking Co.	3 to 8 yrs - brownie suits 4 to 14 yrs - knee pants	12 to 19 yrs - long pants
1900	George W. Simmons	2 to 6 yrs - kilt suits 3 to 10 yrs - knee pants	none listed

Strikingly, the rough age of breeching recommended in the prevailing clothing catalogues of the time also correspond with an average age of three years. Of the clothing in Table 7.10, the juvenile male outfit corresponded in many ways to the adult male outfit except the bottoms. Age could be conveyed with respect to length of pants or presence of a skirt. Thus, unfortunately, the appearance of juvenile short versus adult long pants is archaeologically indiscernible unless knee buttons and/or well-preserved textiles are present. Although this does tell us that as early as age three for males, dress becomes a

prominent way to socialize them as gendered subjects. This enlightens an interpretation of adolescent masculine dress and also speaks to lengths by which masculinity and the perceived associated status might be reproduced, constructed, materialized, or socially imposed during different stages of an individual's life.

Interpreting Female, Juvenile, and Infant Dress

The most remarkable aspects of the second assemblage of dress is the relative lack of dress artifacts in comparison to men's clothing, and the striking similarities between closure groups for adult females, indeterminate gender subadults, and infants. The majority of these burials exhibited primarily porcelain button closure, which was sometimes supplemented with other materials or hook and eye closure. In addition, beaded necklaces were common, as well as safety pins for the youngest of the population. The following discussion draws upon similarities and differences between adult female, juvenile, and infant clothing assemblages in order to further interpret how gender conventions were materialized at varying ages at the Head and Adams Cemeteries.

Costume literature (Tortora and Eubank 2011a, 2011b; Setnik 2012) would lead us to believe that at the dawn of the nineteenth century, female dress was well on its way to exhibiting more complex and elaborate fabrication and ornamentation as men's garments simplified (see Chapter 2). Elements of female fashion may have evolved more rapidly with a proliferation of fashion periodicals and the speed of the sewing machine, but it appears that female burial costume in the community of Headsville is archaeologically less visibly complex. This may speak to several different aspects of female attire, both at the time of interment and within daily life of the community.

Materiality of Adult Femininity

Females possessed relatively less clothing "hardware" than males, but this is not likely indicative of a relative plainness in the design of women's clothes. The vast majority of closures were recovered from along the centerline of the chest. However, there were several instances of closures around the waist and both to the right and left of the chest. This would seem to be an insufficient number of fasteners to allow for complex dresses or tight-fitting bodices popular at that time (Franklin in press, Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Owens and Green 2000). This archeological ambiguity may be the result of numerous variables and is discussed within the context of changing historical dress and the specific experiences of a rural community. However, I hesitate to endorse this means of closure as indicating solely a nightgown or chemise as put forth at other historic cemeteries (cf. Mainfort and Davidson 2006: 196), when such exposure of the intimacies of the feminine wardrobe would have been considered wholly indecent. Moreover, this is further supported by post mortem photographic evidence showing women buried in their Sunday's finest and day clothes (Aldridge 2004). Therefore, I contend that in stark contrast to male clothing, female clothing at Headsville may not have utilized as many strictly gender indicative dress-associated artifacts. This may have been in part due to the general use of the porcelain button, and an overall simplicity observed within women's garments at the Head and Adams Cemeteries, such as wrappers and Mother Hubbards. However, whether by choice, means, or labor, this stands in contrast to idealized Victorian lady's costume of fashion history.

This may also indicate alternative closure means not visible archaeologically. Drawstring, tapes, lacing, and other closures may have been more often utilized over more well-preserved closures. It is also possible that buttons were accompanied with hook and eye closures, which suffered differential preservation. However, there is

additional archaeological evidence that button fastening may have been relatively new to female dress in the nineteenth century, and buttons may have been in the process of being adopted for women's clothing. An archaeological study of historic dress in New Hampshire from the seventeenth century to the very, early nineteenth century by Carolyn White suggests that buttons were primarily associated with men (2001: 633). Additionally, Mills (1985) observed several instances of a lack of button closures on women's day and work dress within her survey of extant costume of Texas frontier women. This speaks to the negative evidence of women's clothing in burials not only at the Head and Adams Cemeteries, but other historic cemeteries and sites.

Contrary to what might commonly be assumed, female burial dress did not display any of the imperishable hallmarks of the fashion trends worn by women during the mid to late nineteenth century. There is an obvious absence of artifacts suggestive of corsets, stayed dresses, crinoline, and the like. This may have been out of necessity of burial, maternity, work, daily life and/or perhaps preference. I suggest that the social conventions of dress in Headsville were demarcated by the context of the rural frontier and possibly class. Victorian norms of dress discussed in Chapter 2 appear to have been practiced by those who could afford the leisure of highly restrictive women's clothing. This may speak to women's daily lives in the rural community of Headsville where women's home and work activities may have precluded their use. In this way, females may have opted for looser fitting Mother Hubbard gowns or wrappers, which would not have required as many buttons and were increasingly popular towards the end of the nineteenth century (Mainfort and Davidson 2006: 197, Owens and Green 2000: 445, Setnik 2012; Tortora and Eubank 2011). This follows photographic studies of the working class during this time period illustrating that adult and children's dress exhibited simplicity and limited adornment with certain elements of fashionable attire (Brandt

1989). It is more likely that both men and women would temporally adjust their garments by rolling up shirtsleeves or removing extraneous layers, rather than outright ignore convention (Brubacher 2002). Importantly, working-class clothing, rather than the high fashion of eastern metropolises, may closer approximate the conditions of frontier life in Texas. Perhaps most morbidly, the absence of attributes pointing towards the use of tight-fitting women's garments may simply be due to natural decomposition processes which may not have allowed for that type of constriction of the body. These theories may singularly or jointly provide explanations for the archeological indistinctness of adult and juvenile female dress; however, there are additional similarities within the second assemblage at the Head and Adams Cemeteries which will be discussed.

Femininity and Children

The materiality of femininity and childhood can be seen to be subtly linked at the Head and Adams Cemeteries, which may be indicative of wider implications in the nineteenth century. Not only is there substantial commonality in the artifact clothing assemblage (but not necessarily clothing itself), there are similar styles of adornment. This may illustrate a close material bond between the historic conceptions of womanhood and childhood.

What would appear to be intrinsically linked to conceptions of age and childhood is the lack of gender-distinct clothing for many subadults, and all infants. Unless observed with artifacts of distinctly male dress, all subadults and infants fell into the female and gender-neutral nonadult assemblage of dress at the Head and Adams Cemeteries. I hypothesize that it is unlikely that every subadult not dressed in male clothing is by default female, and this assemblage actually represents a delicate tonality of the transitions of childhood. As mentioned in the previous section on subadult male

dress, contemporary clothing and dry good catalogs dating from 1875 to 1900 categorize clothing for children according to age in months and years (Table 7.11).

Table 7.11 Girls' and Misses' Clothing Age Ranges

Year	Manufacturer	Low End Age Ranges	High End Age Ranges
1890	H. O'Neil & Co.	4 to 12/14 yrs	12 to 16/18 yrs
1891	Deutsch & Co.	2 to 16 yrs	4 to 18 yrs
1893	Jordan, Marsh & Co	4 to 14/16 yrs	12 -18 or 14-20 yrs
1895	Jordan, Marsh & Co	4-14 or 8-14 yrs	14 to 18 yrs
1898	H. O'Neil & Co.	4 -8 or 4-14/16 yrs	14 to 18 yrs

These categories very roughly correspond to birth to six months of age, under four years, four to 12 years, and older than 12 years, which also signified meaningful changes in the types of clothing prescribed as appropriate both to age and gender. Very roughly, infants were under the age of six months, while juveniles were considered children until adulthood at age 18 to 20 years. According to general dress standards, what I refer to as "genderless" childhood clothing lasted until the age of approximately four but could end as early as two to two and a half years. At this point male and female children graduated into the recommended, gendered clothing categories known as boys and misses, respectively.

Female children had less categories of distinctive age-appropriate clothing placed on them than boys. Like boys, girls were recommended to start wearing misses clothing around the age of two to four years old. However, the age appropriateness of this type of dress lasted well into adolescence, as girls did not begin donning more adult-like clothing until the age of 12 or 14 years old. At this age until around 16 or 18 years old, the

appearance of misses clothing could closely resemble that of adult females save the lack of length of the skirt (Figure 7.6).

Figure 7.6 Circa 1885 photograph of James Richard Head and wife, Frances Amelia Burns, with children Louella, Icy Pickney, Frances Alice, Mary Etta, and Emma Elizabeth. The man in the rear is unknown but is potentially the brother of Frances Amelia (ancestry.com).

Artifacts categorized as adornment were only found within the female and gender-neutral juvenile assemblage. However, men's cuff and collar studs could in many cases just as easily be defined as adornment despite how I have outlined adornment within this dissertation. Although based on traditional categorization used in archaeology, my arbitrary division may introduce an interpretative bias excluding male clothing from the idea of adornment, or perhaps this subjective categorization is more telling. As classified, adornment was solely associated with adult females, subadults, and infants. Adornment types also exhibited considerable overlap with glass beaded ornamentation in the form of necklaces present in adult female, subadult, and infant burials. Beaded necklaces were marketed specifically to women and children since at least the eighteenth century. Yet, they might also have been credited with protective and healing powers, such as those attributed to coral beads (White 2002: 345, 319). Considering that the clothing artifact assemblage was also similar, it may be that female dress was in some way visually and conceptually linked to juvenile and infant dress through similar construction, similar materials, and continued use of beaded necklaces. However, male shirts also commonly shared identical closure means. In a nineteenth-century rural setting like that of Headsville, these may not have been conscious or even apparent similarities, but a similar means of sewing and clothing production, or preferred ornamentation.

Nonetheless, visual gender identity among adult females and children is linked by the absence of bifurcated garments. While knee pants and trousers can be seen as distinctly masculine and introduced to boys at around age three, women and children consistently lack this aspect of clothing within the burials at the Head and Adams Cemeteries. When female-oriented clothing rather than gender-neutral children's clothing may also have been introduced is not archaeologically visible due to a lack of textiles. What is visible is the continuity of clothing fastening methods and means. Nevertheless,

women's dresses and skirts and children's and infants' gowns share the commonality of essentially not being pants. This is a visually marked connotation of non-male in women's and "genderless" children's dress. This implies that feminine rites of passage may not be as visible archaeologically for women and female children.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion, post-mortem dress at the Head and Adams Cemeteries likely tended to be of nice, day dress, especially in older men. Dress of the deceased may have followed fashionable trends of the time, but this was not observable through archaeological recovery without textiles (cf. Aldridge 2008). Residents of Headsville may have lacked current trends and availability of patterns and materials, as their clothing appears to have undergone frequent mending as illustrated through the mismatching of types and sizes of buttons. However, aged and gendered clothing reveals the importance of dress in socialization and expressing social difference. The people of Headsville did largely adhere to gendered and aged norms of dress, but it was shaped by the social expectations of dress for a rural, working-class community. And this is expressed through burial dress at the Head and Adams Cemeteries.

Further identification of clothing styles was, in my cases, hindered by a lack of distinction between closure methods, materials, and general provenance. Clothing types identified at the cemeteries included predominantly male clothing, and some inferred adult female, juvenile, and infant clothing. Male dress included pants, shirts, and sometimes vests and jackets, and was restricted in the identification of style to the means of closure. Female clothing was cautiously identified by the absence of male clothing-related artifacts in adult burials, most notably button fly pants. Adult female clothing was marked by a relative paucity of sartorial artifacts, and most likely consisted of dresses of

one- to two-pieces and may have been styled as loose-fitting Mother Hubbard gowns, or perhaps wrappers. Like male clothing, adult female dress was limited in identification of style to the means of closure. Of note, most children's clothing closely resembled aspects of female clothing. With the exception of subadults clearly dressed as males, clothing items were relatively few for children, and dress was in most part inferred by age as long gowns, short gowns, or dresses from historical context. Diapers were also identified in several burials of children below the age of three years. Like adult female dress, clothing styles were limited to identification of closure means. In several instances, there was a complete absence of material, and it is hypothesized that either burial gowns or shrouds were used to dress the dead.

Interpreting the artifact assemblages from the Head and Adams Cemeteries allows a view into nineteenth-century conceptions of material and visual identities as articulated by the community of Headsville. Subtle yet distinct aspects of masculine maturation could be seen through the material rites of passage in donning pants for the first time in childhood, as well as affording cuff and collar closures as older, adult males. This is suggestive of a processional view of masculinity through the life course. However, females, children, and infants were visibly separated by way of their lack of pants. Archaeologically speaking, many aspects of female and children's clothing fasteners and adornment were identical, by which clear material manifestations of gender development are not observable.

In conclusion, unlike other archaeological contexts wherein items of clothing and personal adornment can rarely be attributed to a particular individual, burials afford unique and exceptional sets of material culture most often associated with a single person. As such, this study of the Adams and Head Cemeteries allows for a distinctive avenue of research into historic materializations of gender and age.

Chapter 8: Concluding Remarks on Dress in Mortuary Contexts

Current to our world today are the politics and polemics of both gender identity and identification. In order to better understand past, and present, implications of dress and identity, I discussed a case study of clothing recovered from the historic, nineteenth-century Head and Adams Cemeteries in the now lost community of Headsville, Texas. In an effort to study the connection between dress and gendered conceptions of age and maturity, this dissertation project largely centered around the description of clothing-related artifacts and discerning patterns of artifacts in order to document the relationship between assemblages and historic clothing types and styles for women, men, and children. By establishing the key elements of historic dress serving as visual cues for the material presentations of identities, I was able to interrogate how gender categories progressed as individuals matured biologically and socially during the latter half of the nineteenth century. This investigation into historic conceptions of identities emphasized age and gender as articulated both on a personal and social level as individual and collective bonds within the community of Headsville.

Situated along the boundary of Limestone and Robertson Counties, Headsville was once a promising farming community emerging on the Texas frontier. Families, such as the Heads and Adams, were among a greater trend of yeoman farmers traveling westward from the American south in search of open land during the nineteenth century. Arriving in what was to become Headsville, it is unknown how these pioneers viewed their settlement, but they would eventually come to collectively share businesses, institutions, schools, churches, and even burial grounds. Both the Head and Adams Cemeteries, located just a short distance apart, appear to have served their respective nuclear and possibly extended families from, at the earliest, 1850 to around the turn of

the century, when churchyard burials became more common in Texas. Unlike the Adams Cemetery, the Head Cemetery is documented as serving a broader community of local residents. While the Adams Cemetery appears to outline a traditional, rural family cemetery, the Head Cemetery included a variety of kin-related and non-kin-related individuals. This may indicate that despite their immediate proximity to one another, the Head and Adams Cemeteries were viewed as burial grounds of different types, perhaps speaking to how the community emerged and identified.

As residents of Headsville had a choice of burial grounds, they made distinct decisions as to the final resting places of their mothers, fathers, wives, husbands, sisters, brothers, aunts, uncles, cousins, children, grandchildren, and perhaps even neighbors and friends. These decisions impart the knowledge that both conscious and unconscious emotions, beliefs, and conventions influenced the bereaved. To their knowledge, these were everlasting decisions and may have carried monumental meaning. The solemnity of choice may also be seen in burial garb by which interment of the deceased could have been the opportune place to display the perceived identity of the decedent, and by extension, the community's ideologies. In this way, the challenging dynamics of death provided ground on which the living could materially adopt, contest, or manipulate individual, community, or broader social ideals of gendered and aged identities.

In an effort to study how the residents of Headsville demonstrated these choices, I undertook a study of dress stemming from my own excavation and analysis of the archaeological relocation of the Head and Adams Cemeteries. I broadly asked how clothing and adornment can be identified from the sometimes-sparse archaeological context of cemeteries, and how this might inform our understanding of historic conceptions of gender as individuals matured biologically and socially. As such, associating dress artifacts and artifact assemblages to particular garments provided a

basis for myself, and other archaeologists, to further study how the act of dress incorporated identity in nineteenth-century Texas. This relational understanding provides a foundation for analyzing dress remains not only from other cemeteries but also other archaeological contexts.

I drew upon multiple lines of evidence including previous burial investigations, costume histories, post-mortem photography, primary accounts from the community, period catalogs, and archaeological evidence recovered from the excavations of the Head and Adams Cemeteries in order to establish clothing types and an interpretative framework for dress and identity. After I suggested clothing types according to provenience, frequency, size, type, and material of dress artifacts within individual graves, I then compared the results of known sexed, gendered, and aged individuals to unknown and indeterminate individuals. An examination of this data allowed me to classify particular clothing and adornment assemblages as related to gender and age. My research determined several clothing assemblages related to gender during the life course. Patterns of assemblages within the excavated remains at the Head and Adams Cemeteries exhibited trends interpreted to represent types of clothing for infants, subadults, and adults of both sexes. Similar to reports on dress in other historic cemeteries including the Freedman's and Greenwood/Potter's Field Cemeteries in Dallas, Montgomery Hill Cemetery in Navarro County, Pioneer Cemetery in Brazoria County, Roberts Cemetery in Bell County, First Street Cemetery in Waco, Third New City Cemetery (TNCC) in Houston, and Becky Wright and Eddy Cemeteries in Arkansas, these assemblages also reflected tendencies associated with age and sex through time (Anderson et al. forthcoming, Bond et al. 2002, Boyd and Norment 2016, Feit et al. 2013, Franklin in press, McWilliams et al. 2014, Mainfort and Davidson 2006, Owens and Green 2000, Tiné et al. 2002). Not only did the presence, association, quantity, and location of

particular artifacts appear to indicate specific clothing types, their absence also made suggestions towards gendered dress. The general trends observed at the Head and Adams Cemeteries were apparent in clothing fasteners and instances of adornment. Diagnostic clothing fasteners appear to be buckles, some materials of buttons, safety and straight pins, and possibly hooks and eyes. Other indicative artifacts include necklaces, hair combs and pins, and possibly shoes.

A total of two, broad artifact assemblages were identified: a masculine artifact assemblage and a feminine and gender-neutral nonadult artifact assemblage. These categories refer to the actual ensembles of dress-related artifacts recovered archaeologically, rather than the specifically inferred clothing types and styles. I made this distinction in order to aid other archaeologists in the identification of clothing remains from the archaeological evidence itself as we must first identify and catalog materials, and then move towards the interpretation of those assemblages. The male assemblage of dress artifacts encompassed two combinations of clothing, which were distinct and easily recognizable. The female and gender-neutral non-adult artifact assemblages were much more discrete as elements suggestive of female dress overlap with that of most subadults and infants. I encountered considerable difficulties in ascertaining specific female dress and juvenile dress in the absence of characteristically gendered or aged artifacts save for some items of adornment. Therefore, I caution the limitations of such a data set, and the strict use of clothing fasteners alone for such inferences. However, this in itself lends to the interpretation of how age and gender were materialized by individuals in the community of Headsville, and perhaps beyond.

What I determined to be the male assemblage of clothing is most visible and composed of pants and shirt, most often in conjunction with vest and/or jacket. Importantly, pants were primarily indicative of males in the absence of other artifacts and

were represented in the archaeological record by the metal, bone, and sometimes porcelain button fly closure at the waist center. In addition, a single burial contained metallic rivets which were used to strengthen pant construction and may indicate an early pair of Levi Strauss and Company work pants. Shirts were characterized by front center porcelain button closure. In the absence of buttons, shirts in male burials were pull-over. In addition, shirt cuffs and collars were evidenced by formal cuff links and collar studs, as well as simple porcelain buttons located at the wrists and neck, respectively. Composition, rubber, and metal buttons were thought to represent front center vest and jacket closures and were primarily distinguished by relative size when occurring within a single burial. Buckles located beneath the body were mostly of the cinch type and attributed to pants, vests, and jackets in accordance with the button assemblage.

The feminine and gender-neutral non-adult clothing assemblage at the Head and Adam Cemeteries is indistinct and is recognized by the absence of male-gendered artifacts and general lack of sartorial remains with the exception of porcelain buttons. Therefore, inferring clothing from these artifacts was dependent on age of the deceased and considered female in adult burials, possibly female in older juvenile burials, and gender-neutral in younger subadult and infant burials. Most notably, this assemblage of clothing artifacts was tentatively identified by the lack of a button fly closure in adult burials, and in some cases supplemented by the presence of beaded necklaces, glass buttons, hook and eye closures, hair combs and pins. Rings were also exclusively located within adult female burials but are not likely to be diagnostic of gender on a broader basis. Similarly, beaded necklaces and hook and eye closures were identified in several burials but may not be indicative of gender within younger age groups, such as infants and subadults. For adult burials, porcelain buttons were interpreted as a possible means of closure for the bodice of a woman's dress. Due to the lack of archaeologically

observable closures and restrictive undergarments, dresses were interpreted as one- to two-piece dresses of wrappers or Mother Hubbard gowns. Similarly, subadult burials with front or back center closure could either be indicative of a female dress or the presence of a male or female child's gown. The occurrence of porcelain buttons within infant burials also likely indicated a child's long gown. Diaper pins were also consistently found within burials of the youngest children.

I assert that the clothing identified at the Head and Adams Cemeteries represents the garments that people wore in life, sometimes for work, on a daily basis or perhaps their Sunday's best. Burial rites within the community of Headsville represented how to properly prepare the deceased for interment, and in doing so, the living dressed the dead in garments that they believed was socially appropriate to their station in life. Clothing the deceased was therefore a way to reaffirm how their community represented age, gender, and social standing through the symbolism of clothing and adornment.

Some male clothing, such as coats, waistcoats, and more notably cuff and collar closures, were more distinctly tied to a sense of status linked to longevity and maturity. Pants in adolescent and adult burials were intrinsically linked to ideals of masculinity. On the other hand, female and gender-neutral adolescent burials were marked by their lack of pants, and archaeologically-recovered clothing fasteners in general. This materially links conceptions of gendered age not only to immaturity and maturity but also independent and dependent status. This speaks to the lengths by which masculinity, femininity, and gender-neutral childhood might be reproduced, constructed, materialized, or socially imposed during different stages of an individual's life.

In summary, this dissertation project explored mortuary displays of age and gender during the period of 1850 to 1900 in the historic, rural community of Headsville. I contribute the identification of several clothing assemblages related to gender during the

life course in late nineteenth-century Texas as they relate to specific categories of men's, women's, and children's clothing. I contend that material remains of clothing and adornment aid in the broader interpretation of social expectations of dress and presentation through symbolic association of perceived and enacted notions of maturity and gender within funerals and burial. Unlike other archaeological contexts wherein items of clothing and personal adornment can rarely be attributed to a particular individual, burials afford unique and exceptional sets of material culture most often associated with a single person. As such, this study of historic cemeteries allowed for a distinctive avenue of research into past identities and social roles. Linking clothing artifacts and artifact assemblages to particular garments provides a basis for archaeologists to further research identity and can be employed to gain a sense of how people incorporated identity into the act of dress. I provide a relational understanding of clothing and adornment as a foundation for analyzing dress remains not only from other cemeteries but also other archaeological contexts.

Appendices

APPENDIX A: HISTORIC CLOTHING AND GENERAL MERCHANDISE CATALOGS

Key

* Denotes General Merchandise Catalog

Year	Title	Firm	Publisher	Origin	Repository
1863	Illustrated Almanac of Fashion	Charles Stokes and Co.'s	unk	Philadelphia	Winterthur
1873	Illustrated Catalogue of the Standard Trimmings	Standard Trimmings?	Frances Hart & Co., New York	New York?	Winterthur
1874	Fashion Book of Novelties, Costumes, Mantles, Millinery, etc.	Debeham and Freebody	unk	London, UK	Winterthur
1875	Catalogue No. 13 Spring and Summer*	Montgomery Ward & Co.	unk	Chicago	Winterthur
1877	O. Jones' Catalogue	O. Jones'	Styles & Cash, Printers, NY	New York	Winterthur
1878	Catalogue of Novelties and Specialties in Ladies', Children's Underwear, constructed on Dress Reform and Hygienic Principles	George Frost and Co.	unk	Boston	Winterthur
1880s	Strangers' Guide to Concord and the Leading Business Houses	E.W. Willard and Co.	unk	Concord, NH	Winterthur
1880, c.	(Catalogue)	Globe Manufacturing Co.	unk	New York	Internet Archive
1880, c.	Oak Hall Pictorial	Oak Hall Clothing House	G.W. Simmons, Oak Hall Clothing House, Boston	Boston	Winterthur
1880, c.	Oak Hall Outline Book for Juvenile Artists & Price List	Oak Hall Clothing House	G.W. Simmons & Son, Oak Hall Clothing House, Boston	Boston	Winterthur
1886	Catalogue No. 52	B. Altman & Co.	unk	New York	Winterthur
1886	Catalogue of Fashions for Fall & Winter	Bronner's Fashionable Clothing House	unk	Buffalo, NY	Winterthur
1888	Fashion Catalogue, Illustrated	Fox and Kelly's	unk	New York	Winterthur
1888	Catalogue No. 25	John Wanamaker	unk	Philadelphia	Winterthur
1888	Appendix to Price List	Work Bros. and Co.	Cameron, Amberg & Co., Print	Chicago	Winterthur
1890	Illustrated Fashion Catalogue	Bloomingdale Bros.	unk	New York	Winterthur
1890	Fashion Catalogue No. 15	H. O'Neill & Co.	unk	New York	Internet Archive

Year	Title	Firm	Publisher	Origin	Repository
1890	(Catalogue)	Rice, Stix & Co.	Atwell & Ebbet Publishers	St. Louis, MO	Winterthur
1891	Catalogue Fall and Winter	Deutsch & Co.	unk	New York	Winterthur
1891	(Catalogue)	Sweester, Pembrook & Co.	unk	New York	Winterthur
1892, c.	Catalogue and Pricelist	Joseph H. Rowe & Co. / Emerson & Adams	Emerson & Adams, Bangor, ME	Bangor, ME	Winterthur
1893	Illustrated Catalogue of Staple and Fancy Notions	Carson, Pirie, Scott & Co.	unk	Chicago	Winterthur
1893	Latest Styles	Jordan, Marsh & Co.	unk	Boston	Winterthur
1894	(Catalogue)	Eugene P. Peyser Men's Outfitter	unk	New York	Winterthur
1894	Wholesale Price List*	Granger Wholesale Supply Co.	North-Ender Publishing Co.	Toronto	Toronto Central Library
1895, c.	Latest Styles of Ladies' Suits	Lord and Taylor	unk	New York	Winterthur
1898	Price List and Diary	Spencer, Turner & Boldero	Waterloo & Sons, London	London, UK	Winterthur
1895	Price List	Jordan, Marsh & Co.	unk	Boston	Winterthur
1896	Wanamaker's Goods & Prices	John Wanamaker	unk	Philadelphia	Winterthur
1897	Price List	Jordan, Marsh & Co.	unk	Boston	Winterthur
1898	Spring & Summer Fashion Catalogue No. 30	H. O'Neill & Co.	unk	New York	Winterthur
1899	Catalogue No. 96	Chicago House Wrecking Co.	unk	Chicago	Winterthur
1900, c.	(Catalog)	G.W. Simmons & Co.	unk	Boston	Winterthur
1901, c.	The Development of Male Apparel	Brooks Bros.	E. Nister, Nuremberg, Bavaria	New York	Winterthur
1901	Consumers' Guide No. 111*	Sears, Roebuck, and Co.	unk	Chicago	Winterthur

Year	Title	Firm	Publisher	Origin	Repository
1901	Illustrated Catalogue and Price List	Dr. Jaeger's Sanitary Woolen System Co.	unk	New York	Winterthur
1902	Supplementary Catalogue	Chas. A. Steven & Bros.	unk	Chicago	Winterthur
1902	The "Windsor" Waterproof Goods	Windsor Collar and Cuff Co.	unk	Windsor, CT	Winterthur
1902, c.	(Catalogue)	Ernest Simons MFG. Co.	unk	Port Chester, NY	Winterthur
1903	Catalogue No. 348*	Lyon Brothers	unk	Chicago	Internet Archive
1903	The Boston Store Catalog, Spring & Summer	Boston Store	unk	Troy, NY	Winterthur
1904	General Price List	Jeremiah Rotherman & Co.	unk	London, UK	Winterthur
1904	Green Brand Aprons	Miller & Canary	unk	Green Island, NY	Winterthur
1905	(Catalogue)	Baltimore Bargain House	unk	Baltimore, MD	Winterthur
1906	The Dry Goods Review and Men's Furnisher	Greenshield's Limited	MacLean Publishing Company, Montreal	Montreal, Canada	U. of Toronto
1906	Men's Ready Made Clothing	Sears, Roebuck, and Co.	unk	Chicago	Winterthur
1906	New York Fashions	National Cloak and Suit Co.	unk	New York	Internet Archive
1909	Another Fashion Epoch for 1909	Wannamaker-Originator	unk	unk	Winterthur
1910	Spring Suggestions from Larkin Co.	Larkin Co.	unk	Buffalo, NY	Winterthur
1911	DeMoulin Bros and Co. Catalog No. 177	DeMoulin Bros. and Co.	unk	Greenville, IL	Winterthur
1911	Choice and Charming Presents	Liberty and Co.	unk	London, UK	Winterthur
1912	Catalog No. 124*	Sears, Roebuck, and Co.	unk	Chicago	Winterthur
1915, c.	Summit Clothing for Outdoor Wear	Guiterman Brothers	unk	St. Paul, MN	Winterthur
1915, c.	Catalog	W&H Walker	unk	Pittsburg, PA	Winterthur

Year	Title	Firm	Publisher	Origin	Repository
1915	The Larkin Factory to Family Plan	Larkin Co.	unk	Buffalo, NY	Winterthur
1915	Latest New York Styles for Women, Misses & Children Catalog No. 63	Perry, Dame and Co.	unk	New York	Winterthur
1916	Royal Tailors: Junior Sample Book	Royal Tailors	unk	Chicago & New York	Winterthur
1916	Buyer's Guide No. 85*	Montgomery Ward & Co.	unk	Chicago	U. of Illinois Urbana-Champaign
1918	(Catalog)	Sears, Roebuck, and Co.	unk	Chicago	U. of Illinois Urbana-Champaign
1919	Styles Catalog No. 72	Perry, Dame and Co.	unk	New York	Winterthur
1919	Vantine's Oriental Store	A.A. Vantine and Co.	unk	New York	Winterthur
1920	Fall and Winter Catalogue	T. Eaton Co.	unk	Toronto	Winterthur
1920	Catalogue and Buyer's Guide No. 93*	Montgomery Ward & Co.	unk	Chicago	U. of Illinois Urbana-Champaign
1921	Catalogue and Buyer's Guide No. 95*	Montgomery Ward & Co.	unk	Chicago	U. of Illinois Urbana-Champaign
1922	General Catalog No. 60	Gordon, Mackay & Co.	unk	Toronto	Winterthur
1922	Catalogue No. 97*	Montgomery Ward & Co.	unk	Chicago	U. of Illinois Urbana-Champaign

APPENDIX B: HISTORIC CLOTHING PERIODICALS

Year	Title	Issue No.	Issuer	Origin	Repository
1860	M'me Demorest's Illustrated Quarterly Report and Mirror of Fashions	I	W.J. Demorest	New York	Winterthur
1863	M'me Demorest's Quarterly Mirror of Fashions	IV (1)	W.J. Demorest	New York	Columbia University
1868-1869	Demorest's Monthly Magazine and M'me Demorest's Mirror of Fashions	IV to VI	W.J. Demorest	New York	U. of Minnesota
1870	Demorest's Monthly Magazine and M'me Demorest's Mirror of Fashions	VII	W.J. Demorest	New York	U. of Minnesota
1874, 1875	Demorest's Monthly Magazine	?	W.J. Demorest	New York	U. of Minnesota
1884, 1885	Demorest's Monthly Magazine	XI to XIII	W.J. Demorest	New York	U. of Chicago
1890, 1891	Demorest's Monthly Magazine	XXVII to XXIX	W.J. Demorest	New York	U. of Minnesota
1830	The Lady's Book	I	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	Princeton U.
1831	The Lady's Book	II	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	Princeton U.
1831	The Lady's Book	III	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	Princeton U.
1832	The Lady's Book	IV, V	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	Princeton U.
1833	The Lady's Book	VI	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	Princeton U.

Year	Title	Issue No.	Issuer	Origin	Repository
1833	The Lady's Book	VII	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	Princeton U.
1834	The Lady's Book	VIII, IX	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	Princeton U.
1835	The Lady's Book	X, XI	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	Princeton U.
1836	The Lady's Book	XII, XIII	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	Princeton U.
1837	The Lady's Book	XIV, XV	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	Princeton U.
1838	The Lady's Book	XVI, XVII	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	Princeton U.
1839	The Godey's Lady Book and Magazine	XVIII	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	U. of Michigan
1842	Godey's Lady Book and Ladies' American Magazine	XXIV	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	N.Y. Public Library
1843	Godey's Lady Book and Ladies' American Magazine	XXVI	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	N.Y. Public Library
1845	Godey's Magazine and Lady Book	XXX, XXXI	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	U. of Michigan
1849	Godey's Lady Book	XLII	Louis A. Godey & Co.	Philadelphia	U. of Michigan
1851	Godey's Lady Book	XLIV	Godey Co.	Philadelphia	U. of Michigan
1852	Godey's Lady Book	XXLIV	Godey Co.	Philadelphia	U. of Toronto
1854	Godey's Lady Book	XXLVIII, XXLIX	Godey Co.	Philadelphia	U. of Toronto

Year	Title	Issue No.	Issuer	Origin	Repository
1856	Godey's Lady Book	LIII	Godey Co.	Philadelphia	Internet Archive
1863	Godey's Lady Book	LXVII	Godey Co.	Philadelphia	Internet Archive
1864	Godey's Lady Book	LXVIII	Godey Co.	Philadelphia	Internet Archive
1864	Godey's Lady Book	LXIX	Godey Co.	Philadelphia	Internet Archive
1875	Godey's Lady Book	XCI, XCII	Godey Co.	Philadelphia	U. of Michigan
1880	Godey's Lady Book	CI, CII	Godey's Lady Book Publishing Co.	Philadelphia	Internet Archive
1870	Harper's Bazaar	III	Hearst Corp.	New York	U. of Michigan
1871	Harper's Bazaar	IV (1)	Hearst Corp.	New York	U. of Michigan
1885	Ladies' Home Journal and Practical Housekeeper	II (11)	Curtis Publishing Co.	Philadelphia	U. of Michigan
1886, 1887	Ladies' Home Journal and Practical Housekeeper	III, IV	Curtis Publishing Co.	Philadelphia	U. of Michigan
1887	Ladies' Home Journal and Practical Housekeeper	V	Curtis Publishing Co.	Philadelphia	U. of Michigan
1882	The Delineator	XX (6)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Michigan
1884	The Delineator	XXIV (2)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Toronto
1886	The Delineator	XXVII	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Michigan
1889	The Delineator	XXXIII (6)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Michigan

Year	Title	Issue No.	Issuer	Origin	Repository
1889	The Delineator	XXXIV (4)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Michigan
1890	The Delineator	XXXVI (4)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Michigan
1891	The Delineator	XXXVIII (5)	Delineator Publishing Co.	Toronto	Internet Archive
1894	The Delineator	XLIII (4)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Michigan
1895	The Delineator	XLV (2)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Michigan
1895	The Delineator	XLVI (4)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Virginia
1896	The Delineator	XLVII (1)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Iowa
1896	The Delineator	XLVII (4)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Virginia
1896	The Delineator	XLVII (5)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Virginia
1896	The Delineator	XLVIII (6)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Virginia
1897	The Delineator	XLIX (1)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Iowa

Year	Title	Issue No.	Issuer	Origin	Repository
1897	The Delineator	XLIX (4)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Virginia
1898	The Delineator	LI (1)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Iowa
1898	The Delineator	LII (1)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Iowa
1898	The Delineator	LII (5)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Virginia
1899	The Delineator	LIII (1)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Toronto
1899	The Delineator	LIV (1)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Iowa
1900	The Delineator	LV (1)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Iowa
1900	The Delineator	LVI (1)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Iowa
1901	The Delineator	LVII (1)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Iowa
1901	The Delineator	LVIII (1)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Iowa
1901	The Delineator	LVIII (3)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Virginia

Year	Title	Issue No.	Issuer	Origin	Repository
1901	The Delineator	LIX (5)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Virginia
1902	The Delineator	LX (1)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Virginia
1902	The Delineator	LX (6)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Virginia
1902	The Delineator	LX (3-6)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	Harvard U.
1903	The Delineator	LXI (1-6)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of California
1904	The Delineator	LXII (1-6)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Iowa
1906	The Delineator	LXV (1-6)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Iowa
1920	The Delineator	XCVI (1)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Iowa
1920	The Delineator	XCVII (1)	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	U. of Iowa

APPENDIX C: HISTORIC INSTRUCTIONAL MANUALS ON GARMENT-MAKING

Year	Title	Author	Publisher	Origin	Repository
1876	The Science and Geometry of Dress: Complete Manual of Instruction in the Art of Designing, Draping, and Cutting Ladies' & Children's Wearing Apparel	Jackson, Mrs. L.L.	Journal Company	Indianapolis	LOC
1887	Directions for Cutting Garments with the Davis Improved Square	Davis, Myra A.	Tucker Printing House	Portland, ME	LOC
1890	Instruction Book for the Kellogg French Tailor System	Kellogg, Mrs.	unk	Battle Creek, MI	LOC
1891	Every Lady Her Own Dress Maker: The Scientific Lady Tailor System	Molpoer, Louis	unk	Washington, D.C.	LOC
1892	How to Make Over Old Dresses	Prescott, Augusta	Home Book Co.	New York	LOC
1895	Parisian Tailor Practical Guide to Scientific Dress Cutting	Fourier, P.A.	unk	Philadelphia, PA	LOC
1896	Kintzel Dress Cutting System	Kintzel, A.G.	unk	Philadelphia, PA	LOC
1907	Textiles and Clothing	Watson, Kate Heintz	American School of Home Economics	Chicago	LOC
1911	The Dressmaker	n/a	Butterick Publishing Co.	New York	LOC
1918	Simplified Pattern Cutting, Part One	Lynch, Frances H.	J.A. Welch & Print	Saint Paul, MN	LOC
1922	A Complete Course in Dressmaking in Twelve Lessons, Lesson XII: Men's Clothing	Conover, Isabel DeNyse	Edward J. Clode	New York	LOC

APPENDIX D: CONSULTED HISTORIC COSTUME COLLECTIONS

Collection	Archive/Museum	Location	Type	URL
Historic Clothing and Textile Collection	San Diego History Center	San Diego, CA	online collection	http://www.sandiegohistory.org/historic-clothing-collection/
Clothing	American Textile History Museum	Lowell, MA	online collection	http://www.athm.org/
Department of Textile and Fashion Arts	Museum of Fine Arts Boston	Boston, MA	online collection	https://www.mfa.org/collections/textiles-and-fashion-arts
Canadian Dress: The Confederation Era, 1840-1890	Canadian Museum of History	Gatineau, QC	online exhibition	https://www.historymuseum.ca/confederationdress/introduction/
Dress, Fashion, and Textiles	McCord Museum	Montreal, QC	online collection	https://www.musee-mccord.qc.ca/en/collections/dress-fashion-and-textiles/
Textiles and Needlework	Winterthur Museum, Garden & Library	Winterthur, DE	online collection	http://www.winterthur.org/collections/museum/textiles-needlework/
Textiles Collection	Baltimore Museum of Art	Baltimore, MD	online collection	http://www.artbma.org/collections/textiles.html
Textiles	Montgomery County Historical Society	Rockville, MD	online collection	https://montgomeryhistory.pastperfectonline.com/webobject
Clothing & Accessories	Smithsonian's National Museum of American History	New York, NY	online collection	http://americanhistory.si.edu/collections/object-groups/clothing-accessories
The Costume Institute	Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET)	New York, NY	online collection	https://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-met/curatorial-departments/the-costume-institute
Brooklyn Museum Costume Collection (at MET)	Metropolitan Museum of Art (MET)	New York, NY	online collection	https://www.metmuseum.org/about-the-met/curatorial-departments/the-costume-institute
18th and 19th Centuries	Museum at Fashion Institute of Technology	New York, NY	online collection	http://fashionmuseum.fitnyc.edu/view/objects/aslist/759/15/dynasty-desc?t:state:flow=d7837502-0e6f-4b36-9179-1a304c679d47
Textile and Costume Collection	Design Center at Philadelphia U.	Philadelphia, PA	online collection	http://www.eastfalls.jefferson.edu/library/textileandcostume/
Historic Costume Collection	Drexel University	Philadelphia, PA	online collection	https://drexel.edu/foxcollection/

Collection	Archive/Museum	Location	Type	URL
Costume (including Accessories)	Philadelphia Museum of Art	Philadelphia, PA	online collection	https://www.philamuseum.org/collections/search.html
Gallery of Costume	Manchester Art Gallery	Manchester, UK	online collection	http://manchesterartgallery.org/collections/
Clothing & Textiles	Museum of Texas Tech University	Lubbock, TX	online collection	http://www.depts.ttu.edu/museumttu/collections/clothing-textiles/index.php
Fashion2Fiber	Ohio State University	Columbus, OH	online collection	https://fashion2fiber.osu.edu/
Texas Fashion Collection	University of North Texas	Denton, TX	digital library	https://digital.library.unt.edu/search/?q=clothing&t=fulltext&sort=&fq=untl_collection:TXFC
Costume	Los Angeles County Museum of Art	Los Angeles, CA	online collection	https://collections.lacma.org/#tab-1
E-Museum Objects Collection	Connecticut Historical Society Museum & Library	Hartford, CT	online collection	http://emuseum.chs.org/emuseum/start?t:state:flow=a22a57be-9af5-45aa-9670-4ad1cc5cea2c
Profiles: Chester County Clothing in the 1800s	Chester County Historical Society	West Chester, PA	online exhibition	http://www.chestercohistorical.org/profiles-chester-county-clothing-1800s
Textiles and Fashion Collection	Victoria and Albert Museum	London, UK	online collection	http://www.vam.ac.uk/content/articles/v/the-v-and-a-textiles-and-fashion-collection/
Historic Costume and Textile Museum	Kansas State University	Manhattan, KS	online collection	https://www.he.k-state.edu/hctm/
Clothing and Textiles Collection	University of Alberta	Alberta, CA	online collection	https://www.ualberta.ca/museums/museum-collections/clothing-and-textiles
Costume Collection	Chicago History Museum	Chicago, IL	online collection	http://digitalcollection.chicagohistory.org/cdm/landingpage/collection/p16029coll3

APPENDIX E: BURIAL INVENTORY FOR AGE, SEX, INTERMENT AGE, GENDER, AND INFERRED CLOTHING

Key

Burial: Adams Cemetery, Head Cemetery

Age Category: Infant, Subadult, Adult

Skeletal Age: months, years

Age (at time of death): years unless otherwise noted

Sex (Osteologically Determined): female, male, possibly female, possibly male, indeterminate, no analysis performed

Marker Gender (according to name given on headstone): female, male

Name (according to headstone)

Year (of interment)

Phase: Early (at least 1867 to 1870); Middle (1870 to 1883); Late (1883 to circa 1900)

Dress Types: combinations of clothing, adornment, and shoes

Clothing Gender: female, male, possibly female, possibly male, gender-neutral child

Assemblage: Masculine Suite I, Masculine Suite II, Juvenile/Feminine, Anomalous Juvenile/Feminine

Inferred Clothing (specific garments)

Burial	Age Cat	Skeletal Age	Age	Sex	Marker Gender	Name	Year	Phase	Dress Types	Cloth. Gender	Assem.	Inferred Clot
A 01	A	n/a	68	-	F	M. F. Adams	1882	M	C/A/S	F	J/F	Dress, One-Pi
A 02	A	n/a	68	-	M	J.R. Adams	1888	L	C	M	M2	Shirt, Pullover Waistcoat; Co
A 03	I	n/a						L	C	G	J/F	Gown, Pullov
A 04	I	n/a						E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long

Burial	Age Cat	Skeletal Age	Age	Sex	Marker Gender	Name	Year	Phase	Dress Types	Cloth. Gender	Assem.	Inferred Clothing:
A 05	A	17-23 yrs		?				M	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
A 06	A	19-35 yrs		M				M	C/A	F	J/F	Dress, Two-Piece?
A 07	S	n/a						E	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece?
A 08	S	3 yrs +						E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short
A 09	I	n/a						M		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
A 10	A	n/a		-				E	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
A 11	I	n/a						L		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 001	A	25-50 yrs		M				M	C	M	M2	Shirt, Pullover; Pants; Cuff
H 002	I	6 m -1 yr		-				E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long
H 003	S	12-18 yrs	15	?		M?		E	C/S	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece?
H 004	S	1yr +/-4m						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover?
H 005	S	1-2 yrs		-				M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short
H 006	S	4.5-8.5 yrs		-				M	C	M	M1	Shirt, Pullover; Pants
H 007	I	30 wks prenatal		-				M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Pullover; Diaper
H 008	I	38 wks prenatal						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 009	I	n/a						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 010	S	1.5-3 yrs		-				M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Pullover?; Drawers?
H 011	A	20-25 yrs		M		E.R?		M	C	M	M1	Shirt, Front Center; Pants
H 012	A	20-35 yrs		M		M.I.R?		E	C	M	M1	Shirt, Pullover; Pants
H 013	I	n/a						M		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 014	I	n/a						M		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 015	S	1.5-3.5 yrs		-				E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short

Burial	Age Cat	Skeletal Age	Age	Sex	Marker Gender	Name	Year	Phase	Dress Types	Cloth. Gender	Assem.	Inferred Clothing:
H 016	A	25-50 yrs		F				M		F?	A J/F	Dress, One-Piece?
H 017	A	25-50 yrs		?				M	C	F	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
H 018	A	25-30 yrs		?				M	C	M	M1	Shirt, Front Center; Pants
H 019	A	25-50 yrs		M				E	C	F?	J/F	Dress, Two-Piece
H 020	S	1.5-3 yrs		-				E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short
H 021	A	25-50 yrs		M				M	C	M	M2	Shirt, Pullover; Pants; Coat
H 022	S	2-3 yrs		-				M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short
H 023	S	6 m - 1 yr		-				M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short
H 024	I	34-38 wks prenatal						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 025	I	n/a		-				E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long
H 026	S	1.5-3.5 yrs		-				M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short
H 027	I	34-38 wks prenatal		-				M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long
H 028	S	5.5yrs +/- 16 mos						M		F?	A J/F	Dress, One-Piece?
H 029	I	n/a		-				M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long
H 030	A	20-35 yrs		?				L	A	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece?
H 031	A	50 yrs +		M				M	C	M	M2	Shirt, Pullover; Pants; Coat; Cuff
H 032	S	3-6 yrs		-				M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short
H 033	A	50 yrs +		M				M	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
H 034	S	1.5-3 yrs		-				M	C/A	G	J/F	Gown, Short
H 035	A	25-50 yrs		F?				M	C/A	F	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
H 036	S	2y +/- 8m						M		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover?

Burial	Age Cat	Skeletal Age	Age	Sex	Marker Gender	Name	Year	Phase	Dress Types	Cloth. Gender	Assem.	Inferred Clothing:
H 037	A	50 yrs +		M				M	C	M	M1	Shirt, Front Center; Pants
H 038	S	1.5-3 yrs		-				M	C	M	M1	Shirt, Pants
H 039	A	25-50 yrs		?				E		F?	A J/F	Dress, One-Piece?
H 040	I	n/a						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 041	A	50 yrs +		?				M	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
H 042	I	n/a						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 043	S	10-15 yrs		-		M.W.?		M	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece?
H 044	S	5.5y +/- 2						E		F?	A J/F	Dress, One-Piece?
H 045	S	9-14 yrs	11	-	M	J.D. Bailey	1888	L	C	M	M2	Shirt, Front Center; Pants; Waistcoat; Coat
H 046	A	50 yrs +		M				M	C/S	M	M2	Shirt, Pullover; Pants; Waistcoat; Coat
H 047	A	20-35 yrs	36	M	M	F.P. Wright	1888	L	C	M	M1	Shirt, Front Center; Pants
H 048	I	n/a						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 049	I	6-12 mos	9 m	-	M	James Oscar Lown	1876	M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long; Diaper
H 051	S	4-8 yrs		-				L	C/S	M	M2	Shirt; Front Center?; Pants; Waistcoat; Coat
H 052	S	1.5-3 yrs		-				L	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short; Diaper
H 053	A	20-35 yrs	23	F	F	Susan Seale	1873	M	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
H 054	I	5.5-9.5 m	9 m	-	M	Andrew Jackson Seale	1873	M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long; Diaper
H 055	S	1-2 yrs	1.50	-	M	J. Walter	1876	M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Pullover?; Diaper?

Burial	Age Cat	Skeletal Age	Age	Sex	Marker Gender	Name	Year	Phase	Dress Types	Cloth. Gender	Assem.	Inferred Clothing:
						Seale						
H 056	I	6 m - 1 yr	10 m	-	M	L. Oscar Seale	1878	M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long
H 057	S	3-6 yrs		-				M	C/S	G	J/F	Gown, Short
H 058	S	1.5y+/-6m						L		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover?
H 059	S	11.5-17.5 yrs	14	-	M	John T. Head	1883	L	C	M	M2	Shirt, Pullover; Knee Pants; Coat?; Cuff
H 060	A	17-23 yrs		F				M	C/A	F	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
H 061	A	25-50 yrs		M				M	C	M	M1	Shirt, Pullover; Pants
H 062	S	2-4 yrs		-				M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short
H 063	I	n/a		-				E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long; Diaper
H 064	S	6.5-12.5 y		-				M	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece?
H 065	I	neonate	infant	-	M	James F. Head	1866	E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long
H 066	I	1.5-3.5 mos	4 m	-	M	William A. Head	1867	E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long
H 067	I	n/a						M		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover; Diaper
H 068	S	5.5-9.5 yrs		-				E	C	M	M1	Shirt, Front Center; Pants
H 069	I	2-4 mos		-				M	A	G	J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 070	S	2y+/- 8m						M		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover?
H 071	A	50 yrs +	75	M?	M	James Alfred Head	1872	M	C	M	M2	Shirt, Pullover; Pants; Waistcoat; Coat; Cuff
H 072	I	9m +/- 3m						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 073	A	16-20 yrs	18	M	M	Rufus	1878	M	C	M	M1	Shirt, Pullover; Pants

Burial	Age Cat	Skeletal Age	Age	Sex	Marker Gender	Name	Year	Phase	Dress Types	Cloth. Gender	Assem.	Inferred Clothing:
						B. Bullard						
H 074	A	30-45 yrs		M				E	C	M	M1	Shirt, Front Center; Pants
H 075	A	40-50 yrs		F				E	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
H 076A	A	25-50 yrs		F?				M	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
H 076B	I	neonate						M		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 077	I	6 m - 1 yr			?	F.G. Wilson	1867	E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long
H 078	I	32-34 wks prenatal		-				E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 079	S	2y+/- 8 m						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover?
H 080	I	neonate						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 081	S	1.5-2.5 yrs		-				E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short
H 082	I	neonate						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 083	S	1 y +/- 4m						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover?
H 084	A	25 - 50 yrs		M				E	C	M	M1	Shirt, Front Center; Pants
H 085	A	25 - 50 yrs		F				M	C	F?	J/F	Dress, Two-Piece
H 086	I	n/a		-				E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long
H 087	A	50yrs +		?				M	C	M?	M1	Shirt, Pullover; Pants
H 088	A	50yrs +	~59	M?	M?	M. McCoy	1888	L	C/S	M	M2	Shirt, Pullover; Pants; Coat; Cuff
H 089	I	neonate						L		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 090	I	n/a						L		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 091	A	50yrs +	56	M?	M	Isiah Greer	1871	M	C	M	M1	Shirt, Pullover; Pants

Burial	Age Cat	Skeletal Age	Age	Sex	Marker Gender	Name	Year	Phase	Dress Types	Cloth. Gender	Assem.	Inferred Clothing:
H 092	A	13.5-19.5y		F?				M	C/A	F	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
H 093	I	1 y+/- 4 m						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 094	A	50 yrs +		F?				L	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
H 095	S	4.5-8.5 yrs		-				M	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece?
H 096	S	3.5-7.5 yrs		-				M	A	G	J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 097	I	n/a		-				M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Long
H 098	S	1.5-2.5 yrs		-				M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short
H 099	I	n/a						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 100	S	1.5-2.5 yrs		-				M	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short
H 101	A	25-50 yrs?		?				M	C	M	M1	Shirt, Front Center; Pants
H 102	I	n/a						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover
H 103	S	9-14 yrs		-				M	C	M	M1	Shirt, Pullover; Pants
H 104	A	16-20 yrs		?				M		F?	A J/F	Dress, One-Piece?
H 105	A	13.5-21.5y		F				M	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
H 106	S	1.5y+/-6m						M		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover?
H 107	A	25-50 yrs	33	F	F	Elenia Bird	1870	M	C	F?	J/F	Dress, One-Piece
H 108	I	neonate	1 m	-	M	Preston Bird	1870	E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Pullover; Diaper
H 109	S	2.5-4.5 yrs		-				E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short
H 110	S	10.5y +/-2						L		F?	A J/F	Dress, One-Piece?
H 111	I	n/a		-				E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Pullover; Diaper?
H 112	I	32-34 weeks prenatal						E		G	A J/F	Gown, Pullover

Burial	Age Cat	Skeletal Age	Age	Sex	Marker Gender	Name	Year	Phase	Dress Types	Cloth. Gender	Assem.	Inferred Clothing:
H 113	S	2.5-4.5 yrs		-				E	C	G	J/F	Gown, Short

APPENDIX F: SHOE CONSTRUCTION METHODS

Appendix F.1 Hand-Stitched Shoe Construction Methods		
General Characteristics: "small," slightly oval needle holes; placement between holes larger and more irregularly spaced than machine-sewn		
Turned		**Welted**
Description	upper attached directly to the sole	welt attached to outer edge of outsole then attached to insole through the upper
Characteristics	single, thin sole	welt
	no stitching visible on bottom of sole	two stitch lines along welt
	feathered strip on inside of sole	insole and outsole have channels cut from under
	upper stitched to feathered strip	
	channel cut from top of outsole	
Advantages	light-weight	can be heeled
	ease of construction	filler can be added for comfort
	could be produced at home	stability
	relatively inexpensive	durability
Shoe Use	women's slippers	heavier shoes, e.g. boots
	light dress Boots	

Appendix F.2 Machine-Stitched Shoe Construction Methods			
General Characteristics: thread indentations between holes; more "regular" placement between holes			
	Blake	**McKay**	**Goodyear**
Description	partially machine-stitched	fully machine-stitched	fully machine-stitched with welt
Characteristics	no welt	no welt	welt
	machine stitched along midsole	ridge of thread on footside of insole	insole is smooth on footside (no stitches nor inside seam)
	hand-finished (usually with nails or pegs) at toe and heel	stitch holes on insole	characteristic rib on bottom of insole
	ridge of thread on footside of insole	channel on outsole cut from under	no channel
	stitch holes on insole	usually lined	
	channel on outsole cut from under		
Advantages	speed of production	even faster speed of production	eliminated uncomfortable inside stitching
		lighter than Blake	more waterproof
			strength
			durability
Disadvantages	uncomfortable thread on footside of insole	uncomfortable thread on footside of insole	
	chafing of thread on sole	chafing of thread on sole	
TPQ	1860	1862	1875

Appendix F.3 Pegged and Nailed Shoe Construction Methods		
Pegged		**Metallic Fasteners**
Description	wooden pegs driven through outsole, upper and insole	nails, screws, or rivets used to attach sole and upper
Characteristics	round or square hole, sometimes distorted to diamond	corroded square or round holes
	sometimes wood or fibrous material remains within hole	no channels
	no stitch indentations	no feathered ridges
	sometimes welted	no ribs
	no channels	metallic fasteners generally used after 1829
	whole shoe or to attach heel or heel lifts	
Time Line	16th century to circa 1870	cut nails generally predate 1880
	popular during the first half of the nineteenth century	machine driven nails after 1862
		machine driven screws after 1880 cut nails generally predate 1880

APPENDIX G: BEAD TYPES

Glass Bead Types from Necklaces

Burial	Cemetery	Type	Shape	Color	No. of Specimens
34	Head	Wound	Doughnut	Black	97
60	Head	Wound	Doughnut	Colorless	73
6	Adams	Blown	Spherical	Colorless	20
69	Head	Wound	Doughnut	Black	19
96	Head	Wound	Doughnut	Cobalt blue	16
96	Head	Drawn	Hexagonally Faceted Tube	Amber	16
69	Head	Wound	Doughnut	Black	14
96	Head	Wound	Doughnut	Amber	9
96	Head	Wound	Doughnut	Green	9
96	Head	Wound	Doughnut	White	7
96	Head	Wound	Doughnut	Cobalt blue	6
34	Head	Drawn	Tubular	Black	5
34	Head	Wound	Doughnut	White	5
69	Head	Drawn	Hexagonally Faceted Doughnut	Black	4
69	Head	Drawn	Hexagonally Faceted Tube	Black	4
69	Head	Drawn	Hexagonally Faceted Tube	Black	1
69	Head	Wound	Doughnut	Cobalt Blue	1
69	Head	Drawn	Hexagonally Faceted Tube	Brownish Purple	1

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